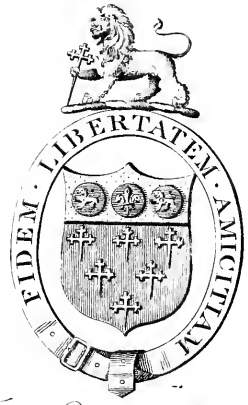

John Quincy Adams.

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John Adams

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME III. PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND

Edward Earle of CLARENDON *Lord High* CHANCELLOR *of England and Chancellor of the Universitty of Oxford. An.° Dñi. 1667.*

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable
EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*
Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART I.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH *all duty and Submiſſion comes into the World the laſt part of this Hiſtory under Your Majeſty's Protection; a juſt Tribute to Your Majeſty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, ſo long engaged, and ſo uſefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work it ſelf, ſo worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and ſo inſtructive, by his noble way of treating it.*

This work, now it is compleatly publiſh'd, relates the Tranſactions of near Twenty Years, hardly to be paralell'd in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns, and paſſages in it. In this ſpace of Time, Your Majeſty ſees Your own Country at the higheſt pitch of Happineſs and Proſperity, and the loweſt degree of Adverſity and Miſery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and

his Memory over all the occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked Rebellion, the ruin of so many Noble and great Families, and the devestation of their Estates; and, after this, the Restitution of all things as at the Beginning, *is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.*

When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who liv'd to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain *united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honour, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandon'd by most of his Servants, whom he had himself raised to the greatest Honours, and Preferments; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Councellor about him, to whom he could* breathe his Conscience and Complaints, *and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinterested Advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up Arms, and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and mercileſs Men, Imprison'd, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better of one another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of*

the

the People, and their Repreſentatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exerciſe of it as any of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoy'd, not ſubject to any of Thoſe Treaties, or Conditions, which had been ſo often offer'd by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power; and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When your Majeſty ſees before You all this begun, and carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Reſtoration, within the ſpace of twenty years, by Engliſh *Men alone amongſt themſelves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the ſame hands joyning in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Deſtruction of their Country; Your Majeſty will certainly ſay,*

This was the Lord's doing, and it muſt ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be publiſh'd in Your Majeſty's time, it is humbly conceiv'd not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, ſuch a Hiſtory of the greateſt Matters paſs'd within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the neceſſity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unſettled and various management of the publick Affairs, to put Men in mind again of thoſe miſchiefs under which ſo many great Men fell on both ſides, as in hopes, that on Your Majeſty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have univerſally receiv'd with joy, this Generation may be inclin'd to let theſe freſh examples of Good and Evil ſink into their Minds, and make the deeper impreſſion in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the Year 1660 *to very near* 1685, *which was the time of King* Charles *the Second's Reign here in* England, *it muſt needs be own'd, that, with all the very good Underſtanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counſels, and great viciſſitudes of good and bad Events, almoſt throughout that ſpace of time attending his Government. They ſeem indeed to be ſomewhat like the four Seaſons of the Years;*

of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flouriſhing, and gay; but there come as conſtantly ſevere Winters, that freeze, wither, deſtroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It muſt be own'd too, ſince it can never be concealed, that from the beginning of the Reſtoration, there was, certainly, not ſuch a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Bleſſings he had pour'd out with ſo liberal a hand, as no doubt was due to the great Author and Giver of all that Happineſs: Neither was there ſuch a prudence in the Adminiſtration, or ſuch a ſteadineſs in the conduct of Affairs, as the freſh Experience of the forgone Misfortunes might well have forewarn'd thoſe that were entruſted in it, to have purſued with Courage and Conſtancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulneſs of God, as well as manifeſt Miſtakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for ſuch undutifulneſs, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign were attended with more fatal Miſcarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable Errors; and the greater they are, ſo many more particular Perſons are uſually involv'd in the Calamity.

What follow'd after this time, till Your Majeſty's moſt happy coming to the Throne, is ſo freſh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be beſt able to make his own obſervation upon it. Such Deliverances have their pangs in their Birth, that much weaken the Conſtitution, in endeavouring to preſerve, and amend it.

And now your Majeſty, who ſucceeds to a Revolution, as well as a Reſtoration, has the advantage of a retroſpect on all theſe Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in thoſe times; and whatſoever was wanting, at thoſe opportunities of amending paſt Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better eſtabliſhment of the Crown, and the ſecurity of the true old Engliſh *Government, it will be Your Majeſty's happineſs to ſup-*

ply

ply in Your time: A time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King Charles *the Second's Restoration; for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran chearfully into Obedience; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.*

Comparisons of Times may be as odious as that of Persons; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil *remarks as a felicity in the time of* Augustus.

When Abroad the Soveraign is prosperous, and at Home does Govern Subjects willing to obey:

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their Duty; and makes them rejoyce under the Laws by which they are Govern'd. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance; and such God grant it may be Ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War; the contrivances, designs, and consultations in it; and the miserable events of it; and seem'd to have finish'd the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the Ninth Book, says, that From that time there remain'd no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. *And when there's an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.*

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them,

are open'd in this Volume ; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding uſeful, even in thoſe parts, where, by reaſon of the ſadneſs of the Subject, it cannot be delightful; and, in all other parts of it, both uſeful and delightful.

Your Majeſty eſpecially, who muſt have Your Heart perpetually intent to ſee what follow'd in the cloſe of all thoſe Wars, and by what means and methods the loſs of all that Noble and Innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of the Royal Stream then ſpilt, was recompenſed upon Their Heads who were the Wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at laſt the Miſeries of theſe Nations, and the Sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recover'd by God Almighty's own unerring Hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertain'd in this Volume with the Relation of the ſecret ſteps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he ſtill ſeem'd openly to have forſaken His own oppreſſed Cauſe ; wherein ſo much of what was deareſt to Your ſelf was ſo highly concern'd.

Of the Tranſactions within theſe Kingdoms, ſoon after the War was ended, eſpecially juſt before and after the barbarous Murther of the Bleſſed King, this Author could have but ſhort and imperfect Informations abroad. It cannot therefore juſtly be expected that he ſhould be ſo full, or minute in many circumſtances relating to the Actions and Conſultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in ſome other Writers, whoſe buſineſs it was to intend only ſuch matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wiſh'd, that he had given the World a more diſtinct, and particular Narrative of that Pious King's laſt moſt magnanimous Sufferings in his Impriſonments, Trial, and Death. But it ſeems the remembrance of all thoſe deplorable Paſſages was ſo grievous, and inſupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhorr'd the dwelling long upon them, and choſe rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compaſs. But this is a loſs that can only now be lamented, not repair'd.

But when the Hiſtory brings your Majeſty to what the Noble Writer eſteem'd one of his principal buſineſſes in this Volume, to attend King Charles *the Second, and his*

Two

Two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wandrings, which took up a conſiderable ſhare of it, and are moſt accurately and knowingly deſcrib'd by him, as having been a conſtant Witneſs of moſt of them, it is preſum'd, This part may give Your Majeſty equal ſatisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleaſant to your Majeſty, ſince You have known ſo well the happy Concluſion of it, to ſee the Baniſh'd King under his long adverſe Fortune, and how many Years of Trouble and Diſtreſs he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that diſconſolate time of Diſtreſs and lowneſs of his Fortune, Your Majeſty will find cauſe to obſerve, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; ſo inſeparable are ſuch undecent and unchriſtian Contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like Tares ſown by an Enemy amongſt the Wheat, whilſt good Men ſleep.

Upon the Subject of the Factions in thoſe days, there is a particular Paſſage in this Hiſtory, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very induſtrious in proſecuting this Author with unjuſt and falſe Accuſations. And the Author himſelf obſerves, that howſoever thoſe Parties ſeem'd, on moſt other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compaſs His deſtruction; and for no other reaſon, that ever appear'd, but his being an unwearied Aſſertor of the Church of England's *Cauſe, and a conſtant Friend and Servant to the true Intereſt of it; to which either of them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatſoever they pretended.*

This paſſage ſeems to deſerve a particular reflection, becauſe, within few Years after that King's Reſtoration, ſome of both thoſe Parties joyn'd again in attacking this Noble Author, and accuſing him anew of the very ſame pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been ſo much Malice, ſhew'd on one ſide, and ſo much natural and irreſiſtible Innocency appear'd on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the

ſame

ſame Quiver, could have been enough envenom'd to have hurt ſo faithful, ſo conſtant, and ſo tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majeſty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Maſter, upon the occaſion of his being much preſſed to go to Church to Charenton, *and how ſome Intrigues, and Snares, cunningly laid on one ſide, were very plainly and boldly withſtood on the other by this Author, will let the World ſee, why this Man was by any means to be remov'd, if his Adverſaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually croſſing their Miſchievous Deſigns, by an habitual courſe of adhereing unmovably to the Intereſt of this Church and Nation.*

In the progreſs of this Book, Your Majeſty will alſo find ſome very near that King whilſt he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and deſperate Circumſtances of his Fortune, to perſwade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an inſignificant a deſpicable and undone Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying ſome Roman Catholick Lady, who might engage thoſe of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majeſty's Intereſt; Others at the ſame time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as moſt able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while perſiſted, in the integrity of his Soul, to uſe that credit his Faithfulneſs and Truth had gain'd him, to convince the King, that Forreign Force was a ſtrength not deſireable for him to depend on, and, if it were ſuſpected to be on the Intereſt of Popery, of all things moſt likely to prevent, and diſappoint his Reſtoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Arms ought to be ſtretch'd out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was That his Majeſty ſhould chiefly rely on, both to aſſiſt him in his Return, and afterwards to eſtabliſh his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful obſerver of all that had paſſed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have ſeen the Actions, and penetrated, in a good

good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill Judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind: and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventur'd all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgment, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all Wise Men to depend most on the Service, and Affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a Lukewarm Trimming indifferency, though sometimes dignified with the Character of Politicks, did not suit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Conduct that should grieve, and disoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoyce. But however his malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weaken'd the hands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approv'd this judgment; for in the very inconstant, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favour'd, or discountenanced his own Party; *call'd indeed a* Party *by the Enemies of it, upon a Levelling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but* Parties; *whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage ground of being Establish'd by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.*

By degrees your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the Time past with advantage to Your self; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles Fought, without Your part of the Danger; and by the Experience of former Misfortunes, Establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in Lucretius; *from whence he advises his Readers*

Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philosophical Poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles Miserable Men, distracting themselves in wearisome Contentions about the Business and Greatness of an empty World; so does this Noble Historian with true and evident deductions from one Cause and Event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of those Miserable times; from whence not in speculation only, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madness and wickedness of those secret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Desolation; and see how falsly and weakly those great and busy disturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that seem'd to shake the foundations of the World; but in the still voice of Peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom Vengeance belongs, arose, and shew'd himself in defence of that Righteous Cause of the Crown and Church; which Your Majesty will observe to have been Combin'd against, Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Rais'd and Reestablished together. Now these things happen'd for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.

It is now most humbly submitted to Your Majesty's Judgment, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect, not for Your self only, but Your Noblest Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

When Your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no Power on Earth will be able to disappoint Your Wisdom, or resist Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preserve and defend Your Subjects, as well as your Crown, from the like Distractions and Invasions. There may want the Concurrence of a Parlia-

Parliament, to prevent the return of the ſame miſchievous Practices, and to reſtrain the madneſs of Men of the ſame Principles in this Age, as deſtroy'd the laſt: ſuch as think themſelves even more capable than thoſe in the laſt, to carry on the like wicked deſigns; ſuch as take themſelves to be inform'd, even from this Hiſtory, how to mend the miſtakes then committed by the principal Directors on that ſide, and by a more refin'd skill in wickedneſs to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the deſtruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is repreſented to Your Majeſty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will joyn hand in hand to aſſure the World there is no ſuch thing. It is a Common Cauſe, and it is their Intereſt, if they can, to perſwade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church *Inventions, that ſuggeſt ſuch Fears and Jealouſies.*

But let any impartial Perſon judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themſelves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Eſtabliſh'd Government either in Church or State, can be ſtrengthened, or ſerv'd by them. They muſt go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no ſuch thing as a Republican Party in England, *that they may be the leſs obſerv'd, and go on the more ſecure in their deſtructive Projects.*

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites *alarm the Nation with theſe Apprehenſions; and that* Jacobites *are much greater Enemies than Themſelves to Your Majeſty. Let that be ſo: no Man, in his Wits, can ſay any thing to Your Majeſty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wiſh the Proſperity and the Happineſs of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.*

But whilſt theſe Men moſt falſly aſperſe the Sons of the Church of England *for being* Jacobites, *let them rather clear themſelves of what they were lately charged before Your Majeſty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of* January, *with an execrable Solemnity of ſcandalous Mirth; and that they*

have

have Seminaries, and a sort of Universities, in England, *maintain'd by great Contributions, where the fiercest Doctrines against Monarchical, and Episcopal Government, are taught and Propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to your Majesty's Title, Name, and Family.*

This seems to be a Torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole Legislative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually assaulting, or undermining, be supported by a less Power.

In these difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Personal duty to your Majesty, take themselves to be more concern'd to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own just Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the Mischiefs mention'd in this History were brought upon the Kingdom.

They best can discover the Craft and Subtilty formerly used in those Consultations; which first inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a just indignation against all that Hypocrisy and Villany, by which the English *Name, and Nation, were exposed to the Censure of the rest of the World: They only can be able to present your Majesty with remedies proper, and adequate to all these Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Constitution of this Government Retriev'd, and Supported.*

There is one Calamity more, that stands in need of a Cure from Your own Soveraign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen most heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly dissolute times of those Wars, and has monstrously increased ever since, yet was never own'd so much as Now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and disuse of all Religion, whatsoever. And indeed what could so much feign'd San-

Sanctity, and so much real Wickedness, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, *produce else in foolish Mens hearts, than to say,* There is no God ?

This Irreligion was then pretended to be cover'd with a more signal Morality and precise strictness in Life and Conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godliness and Virtue is fled too. Atheism, and Profaness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaness and Impiety seems, next to the horrible Confusions of the late Rebellion, to have gain'd ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on several Accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church Establish'd by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all Religion. For where the chief Advisers or Managers of Publick Affairs, have inclin'd to alterations, which the Establish'd Rules have not countenanc'd, they durst not cause the Laws to be put in execution, for fear of turning the force of them on Themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer Men to observe no Discipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of England, *put to Nurse, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclined to Popery, and sometimes to other Sects, and sometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being starv'd, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill consequence has redounded not only to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Professors of Christianity it self.*

Whoever have ventur'd to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been render'd as Persons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclin'd to be favourable to the Men complain'd of; it has been offer'd on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Interest of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these Mischiefs have been still growing, and no Laws have hitherto reach'd them; and, possibly, they are become

become incapable of a remedy; unleſs your Majeſty's great Example of Piety and Virtue ſhall have ſufficient influence to amend them; No honeſt Man can ſay it is not reaſonable, and even neceſſary, to watch them; and that, in compaſſion to Your Subjects, as well as Juſtice to Your ſelf. This Hiſtory hath ſhewn Your Majeſty their Fruits in the late Times, by which You ſhall know them ſtill; for Your Majeſty will remember Who has ſaid, that

Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles.

That God may give Your Majeſty a diſcerning Spirit, a wiſe, and underſtanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to ſubdue Your Enemies Abroad by ſucceſsful Counſels, and Arms, and to reduce Your Ill willers at Home by prudent Laws, adminiſter'd with the Meekneſs of Wiſdom; that he would give You Length of Days in one hand, and Riches and Honour in the other; that You, in Your days, may have the Glory to reſtore good Nature (for which the Engliſh *Nation was formerly ſo celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the ſincere Profeſſion, and Univerſal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favourable kindneſs as with a Shield, againſt all Your Adverſaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Conſtant, and Devout Prayers of ſo many Millions, that it were the higheſt preſumption in any One Perſon, to ſubſcribe a particular Name to ſo univerſal a Concern.*

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK X.

Jer. XXX. 6.

Wherefore do I ſee every Man with his hands on his loins, as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turn'd into paleneſs?

Jer. XLVII. 6.

O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be e're thou be quiet? put up thy ſelf into thy ſcabbard, reſt, and be ſtill.

Ezek. XXXIV. 2.

Woe be to the Shepherds of Iſrael, that do feed themſelves; ſhould not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?

THE Actions of the laſt Year were attended with ſo many diſmal Accidents and Events, that there were no ſeeds of hope left to ſpring up in this enſuing ill year; for it was enough diſcern'd how little ſucceſs the Treaty with the *Scots* would produce; which yet the King did not deſire to put a period to, otherwiſe than by poſitively declaring, that he would never conſent to the alteration "of the Church Government, but was willing enough that they ſhould entertain any other hopes, and was not himſelf without hope, that by ſatisfying the Ambition, and Intereſt of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpoſe Monſieur *Montrevil* was gone from *London* to the *Scotiſh* Army, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and ſo given an Account to

the King of his obſervations, and receiv'd from him ſuch Information and Inſtruction as was neceſſary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untryed to draw ſuch a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majeſty to make ſome attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all poſſible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garriſons left, a force of five thouſand Horſe and Foot (which at that time ſeem'd a thing not to be deſpair'd of) he did more deſire to have loſt his life, in ſome ſignal attempt upon any part of the Enemy's Army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foreſaw he was ever like to obtain by Treaty; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thouſand Foot to be landed in *Cornwal*, which his Letters from *France* confidently promiſed, and which had been ſo much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from tranſporting himſelf into *Silly*, till *Fairfax* was march'd (as hath been ſaid before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Pendennis*. For Sr *Dudley Wyat* had been ſent expreſsly from the Lord *Jermyn*, to aſſure the Prince, that ſuch a Body of five thouſand Foot were actually raiſed under the Command of *Ruvignie*, and ſhould be Embark'd for *Pendennis* within leſs than a month; and the Lord *Jermyn*, in a Poſtſcript to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sr *Dudley Wyat*, wiſhed him not to be too ſtrict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, becauſe there might be accidents of Winds at that Seaſon; but he deſired him to be confident, that they ſhould be all landed within the expiration of ſix Weeks, and by that Meaſure to conduct the reſolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or deſign'd for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignie* (becauſe he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mention'd, in ſome looſe diſcourſe by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be ſent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreaſonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Tranſactions, the ſucceeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever after examin'd, or conſider'd and reflected upon.

The Prince ſtayed in the Iſle of *Silly* from *Wedneſday* the 4th of *March*, till *Thurſday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued ſo contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwal* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewiſe arriv'd a Trumpeter from Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, with ſuch a Meſſage from the Parliament to the Prince

Prince as might well be called a Summons, rather than an Invitation; yet it was well it came not to *Pendennis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty seven, or twenty eight Sail of Ships, incompaſſed the Iſland; but within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempeſt, which continued two days, they were diſperſed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakneſs of the Place, if it ſhould be attacked by any conſiderable ſtrength (which both by the Meſſage and the Attendants of it they had reaſon to apprehend) together with the extreme ſcarcity of Proviſions in that Iſland, which had not been, in the ſix weeks the Prince ſtaid there, ſupplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwal*, neither had there been any returns from *France* upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Seaſon of the Year, his Highneſs inclin'd to remove to *Jerſey*; againſt which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the conſideration of the King's being at *London* (which was ſtrongly reported ſtill) in a Treaty; and then, that his Highneſs's remove, eſpecially if by diſtreſs of Weather, he ſhould be forced into *France*, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reaſonable, firſt to expect ſome Advertiſement from his Majeſty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highneſs produced in Council this enſuing Letter from the King, which was writ ſhortly after the Battle of *Naſeby*, and which he had conceal'd till that Morning from all the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only ſecret he had ever kept from the Four he had truſted.

Hereford the 23d *of June* 1645.

Charles,

"My late misfortunes remember me to command you that "which I hope you ſhall never have occaſion to obey; it is "this; If I ſhould at any time be taken Priſoner by the Re- "bels, I command you (upon my bleſſing) never to yield to "any conditions, that are diſhonourable, unſafe for your Per- "ſon or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon any conſide- "rations whatſoever, though it were for the ſaving of my "Life; which in ſuch a Caſe, I am moſt confident, is in "greateſt ſecurity by your conſtant reſolution, and not a whit "the more in danger for their threatning, unleſs thereby you "ſhould yield to their deſires. But let their Reſolutions be "never ſo Barbarous, the ſaving of my life by complying "with them would make me end my days with torture, and "diſquiet of mind, not giving you my Bleſſing, and Curſing

A Letter from the King to the Prince, written from Hereford; June 23. 1645.

"all the reſt who are conſenting to it. But your conſtancy "will make me die chearfully, praiſing God for giving me ſo "gallant a Son, and heaping my bleſſings on you; which "you may be confident (in ſuch a caſe) will light on you. "I charge you to keep the Letter ſtill ſafe by you, until you "ſhall have cauſe to uſe it; and then, and not till then, to "ſhew it to your Council; it being my command to them, "as well as you; whom I pray God to make as proſperouſly "glorious as any of the Predeceſſors ever were of.

"Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

AFTER the reading this Letter, and a Conſideration of the probability that the Rebels would make ſome attempt upon his Highneſs there, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting ſuch an attempt in the condition the Iſland then ſtood, it was by his Highneſs with great earneſtneſs propoſed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*) unanimouſly adviſed, that the opportunity ſhould be then laid hold on, whilſt the Rebels Ships were ſcatter'd; and that his Highneſs ſhould Embark for *Jerſey*; which he did accordingly on *Thurſday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a proſperous wind landed at *Jerſey*; from whence, the ſame Night, they ſent an Expreſs to the Queen, of the Prince's ſafe arrival in that Iſland; and likewiſe Letters to St *Maloes*, and *Havre de Grace*, to advertiſe the Lord *Colepepper* of the ſame; who receiv'd the Information very ſeaſonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigats in expectation of a Wind for *Silly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Iſland, both himſelf, and all their Lordſhips were of opinion, that it was a place of the greateſt ſecurity, benefit, and conveniency to repoſe in, that could have been deſired, and wiſh'd for; till upon a clear information, and obſervation of the King's condition, and the ſtate of *England*, he ſhould find a fit opportunity to Act; and the Prince himſelf ſeem'd to have the greateſt averſion, and reſolution againſt going into *France*, except in caſe of danger of ſurpriſal by the Rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr *Progers*, who had been diſpatched before (preſently upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s coming) from *Paris* to *Silly*, being hinder'd by contrary Winds till he receiv'd the News of the Prince's being at *Jerſey*, came thither, and brought this following Letter from her Majeſty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

The Prince of Wales Embarks from Silly, lands at Jerſey, Apr. 17.

Paris

Paris the 5th *of April* 1646.

A Letter from the Queen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the Prince's removal into France.

"My Lord *Colepepper* muſt witneſs for me that I have patiently and at large, heard all that he could ſay concerning "the condition of *Silly*, and all that has been propoſed for "rendring of the Prince of *Wales* his abode there ſafe; yet "I muſt confeſs to you, that I am ſo far from being ſatisfied "in that point, that I ſhall not ſleep in quiet until I ſhall hear "that the Prince of *Wales* ſhall be remov'd from thence. It "is confeſſed, it is not ſufficiently fortified, and is acceſſible "in divers places; and the Manning the Works will require "a thouſand Men more than you have, or, for ought I ſee, "can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loſs of "*Cornwal* may not ſuddainly have a dangerous influence upon "that Garriſon; moſt of your Soldiers being of that Coun"try. The power of the Parliament at Sea is ſo great, that "you cannot rely upon the ſeaſonable and ſafe conveyance "of ſuch proportions of Proviſions, as ſo great a Garriſon will "require: I need not remember you of what Importance to "the King, and all his Party, the ſafety of the Prince's Per"ſon is; If he ſhould fall into the Rebels hands, the whole "would thereby become deſperate; therefore I muſt impor"tunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal "ſervice you can do to the King, Me, or the Prince. *Cole*"*pepper* will tell you how I have ſtrain'd to aſſiſt you with "preſent Proviſions, Shipping, and Money, neceſſary for the "Prince's remove to *Jerſey*; where, be confident of it, he "ſhall want nothing. Beſides, for ſatisfaction of others, I have "mov'd the Queen Regent to give aſſurance, that if the Prince, "in his way to *Jerſey*, ſhould be neceſſitated, by contrary "Winds, or the danger of the Parliament Shipping, to touch "in *France*, he ſhould have all freedom and aſſiſtance from "hence, in his immediate paſſage thither; which is granted "with great Chearfulneſs, and Civility, and will be Subſcribed "under the hands of the *French* King and Queen, my Bro"ther, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: therefore I hope all ſcruples "are now ſatisfied. *Colepepper* is haſtning to you with good "Frigats; but if you ſhall find any danger before their Arri"val, I ſhall rely upon your care not to omit any opportu"nity to prevent that danger, according to the reſolution in "Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me with; for "which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this "ſervice will be to the King, who in every Letter preſſes me "to write to you concerning my Son's ſafety; nor that I am, "and always will be, moſt conſtantly,

"Your aſſured Friend, *Henriette Marie R.*

THE Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertiſed at their firſt Landing there, that there was ſtill an expectation of the Prince in *France*; and that he would be ſpeedily importun'd from thence; which they could not believe; but aſſoon as the Lord *Colepepper* came, they plainly diſcern'd that Letter had been written upon advice to *Silly*, and upon foreſeeing that an immediate Journey into *France* would not have been ſubmitted to; and that the Inſtrument mention'd for his Highneſs's quiet and uninterrupted Paſſage through *France* to *Jerſey*, was only a colour, the ſooner to have invited the Prince to have Landed there, if there had been any accidents in his Paſſage; but that the reſolution was, that he ſhould not then have come to *Jerſey*, as it was now, that he ſhould quickly come from thence; to which purpoſe, ſhortly after, came moſt importunate Letters from the Queen; and it ſeems, howſoever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of *England*, were for his repair into *Denmark*, his Majeſty, upon what reaſons I know not, conceiv'd his Highneſs to be in *France*; for after his coming to *Jerſey*, this following Letter was ſent to him, by the Lord *Jermyn*, in whoſe Cipher it was writ, and decipher'd by his Lordſhip.

Oxford the 22d of March.

Charles,

A Letter from the King to the Prince.

"HOPING that this will find you ſafe with your Mother, "I think fit to write this ſhort but neceſſary Letter to you: "Then know, that your being where you are, ſafe from the "Power of the Rebels, is under God, either my greateſt ſe- "curity, or my certain ruin. For your conſtancy to Reli- "gion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will "make theſe Inſolent Men begin to hearken to reaſon, when "they ſhall ſee their Injuſtice not like to be crown'd with "quiet; but, if you depart from thoſe grounds for which I "have all this time Fought, then your leaving this Kingdom "will be (with too much probability) call'd ſufficient proof "for many of the ſlanders heretofore laid upon me: where- "fore, once again, I command you upon my bleſſing to be "conſtant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman "Superſtitions, nor the Seditious and Schiſmatical Doctrines "of the Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that a "perſecuted Church is not thereby leſs pure, though leſs for- "tunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally "directed by your Mother, and (as ſubordinate to her) by "the

"the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your "parting from hence: and so God bless you.

Charles R.

THIS Letter, and the very passionate Commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to his Highness by the Lord *Colepepper*, who from his being at *Paris* had changed his former opinions, and was (though he express'd it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discover'd an Inclination to the Journey; whereupon the Council presented at large to him, the Inconveniencies and Dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: They remember'd, the Carriage of the *French* since the beginning of this Rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the Rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some publick Declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weigh'd, and consider'd, before executed; and so, in the end they prevail'd with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* again to the Queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of their Instructions was as follows.

The Lords Capel and Colepepper sent to Paris, to dissuade the Queen from sending for the Prince into France.

"YOU shall inform her Majesty, that We have, with all "duty and submission, consider'd her Letters to Us concern- "ing our speedy repair into the Kingdom of *France*; the "which direction, We conceive to be grounded upon her "Majesty's apprehension of danger to our Person by any re- "sidence here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her Ma- "jesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she will hold Us "excused for not giving that present obedience which We "desire always to yield to the least Intimation of her Majesty; "and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that "We have great reason to believe this Island, to be defen- "sible against a greater Force, than We suppose probable to be "brought against it. That the Inhabitants of the Island ex- "press as much chearfulness, unanimity, and resolution for "the defence of our Person, by their whole carriage, and "particularly by a Protestation voluntarily undertaken by "them, as can be desir'd; and that, if, contrary to expecta- "tion, the Rebels should take the Island, We can from the

Their Instructions, and Arrival at Paris.

" Caſtle (a place in it ſelf of very great ſtrength) with the leaſt " hazard remove our ſelf to *France*; which in caſe of Immi- " nent danger We reſolve to do. That our ſecurity being thus " ſtated, We beſeech her Majeſty to conſider, whether it be " not abſolutely neceſſary, before any thought of our remove " from hence be entertain'd, that We have as clear an infor- " mation as may be got, of the condition of our Royal Fa- " ther, and the Affections of *England*; of the Reſolutions of " the *Scots* in *England*, and the Strength of the Lord *Moun-* " *troſe* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and the conclu- " ſion of the Treaty there; that ſo, upon a full and mature " proſpect upon the Whole, We may ſo diſpoſe of our Perſon " as may be moſt for the benefit and advantage of our Royal " Father; or patiently attend ſuch an alteration and con- " juncture, as may adminiſter a greater advantage than is yet " offer'd; and whether our remove out of the Dominions of " our Royal Father (except upon ſuch a neceſſity, or appa- " rent viſible conveniency) may not have an Influence upon " the Affections of the three Kingdoms to the diſadvantage of " his Majeſty.

WITHIN two days after the two Lords were gone for *Paris*, Sr *Dudley Wyat* arriv'd with the News of the King's being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believ'd by the Queen, as ſhe ſaid in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scots*; and therefore her Majeſty renew'd her Command for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reaſon before was, that he would put himſelf into the *Scots* hands; and therefore it was neceſſary that his Highneſs ſhould be in *France*, to go in the head of thoſe Forces which ſhould be immediately ſent out of that Kingdom to aſſiſt his Majeſty.

THE two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himſelf came not; ſhe declar'd her ſelf " Not to " be moved with any reaſons that were, or could be, given " for his ſtay; and that her reſolution was poſitive and unal- " terable: yet they prevail'd with her, to reſpite any poſitive Declaration till ſhe might receive full advertiſement of the King's Condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scotiſh* Army.

IT is remember'd before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Silly*, ſent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be punctually inform'd of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were ſeveral reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Iſland; which he foreſaw would be neceſſary, whether he ſhould remain there or not.

The

The Gentleman had a very quick paſſage to *Dublin*, and came thither very quickly after the Peace was agreed upon with the *Iriſh* Roman Catholicks, and found the Lord *Digby* there; who after his Enterpriſe, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had firſt Tranſported himſelf into the Iſle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*; where he had been receiv'd, with great kindneſs and generoſity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man who had been in ſo eminent a Poſt in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Perſon of ſo rare a compoſition by Nature and by Art (for nature alone could never have reach'd to it) that he was ſo far from being ever diſmay'd upon any Misfortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never befel any Man) that he quickly recollected himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that he did really believe his condition to be improv'd by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new ſtock of Reputation, and Honour, and ſo he no ſooner heard of the Prince's being in the Iſle of *Silly*, and of his Condition, and the Condition of that place, than he preſently concluded, that the Prince's preſence in *Ireland* would ſettle and compoſe all the Factions there; reduce the Kingdom to his Majeſty's Service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an Enemy to the Peace, to quit his Ambitious deſigns. The Lord Lieutenant had ſo good an opinion of the Expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that when his Highneſs had been forced to leave *England* he had rather choſen to have made *Ireland* than *Silly* his retreat; but, being a Wiſe Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehenſion of many contingencies which might increaſe thoſe difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of ſo great Importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigats ready, he cauſed an hundred Men with their Officers to be preſently put on Board, according to his Highneſs's deſire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always concluded, that That was fit to be done which his firſt thoughts ſuggeſted to him, and never doubted the Execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be Attempted) put himſelf on Board thoſe Veſſels; reſolving, that upon the ſtrength of his own reaſon, he ſhould be able to perſwade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Silly*, and to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, if brought to paſs in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But by the ſuddain remove of the Prince from *Silly*, the two Frigats from *Dublin* miſs'd finding him there; and that Lord, whoſe Order they were obliged to obſerve, made all the haſte he could to *Jerſey*; where he found the Prince, with many other of his Friends who attended his Highneſs, the two Lords being gone but the day before to attend

The Lord Digby *arrives at* Jerſey *from* Ireland.

attend the Queen; he loſt no time in informing his Highneſs of the happy ſtate and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thouſand Men ready to be Tranſported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highneſs would repair thither, he ſhould find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon poſitively adviſed him, without farther deliberation, to put himſelf aboard thoſe Frigats; which were excellent Sailers, and fit for his ſecure Tranſportation.

THE Prince told him, "That it was a matter of greater "Importance, than was fit to be executed upon ſo ſhort de- "liberation; that he was no ſooner arriv'd at *Jerſey* than he "receiv'd Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him "forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were pro- "vided for his reception; that he had ſent two of the Lords "of the Council to the Queen, to excuſe him for not giving "ready Obedience to her Commands; and to aſſure her that "he was in a place of unqueſtionable Security; in which "he might ſafely expect to hear from the King his Father "before he took any other reſolution: That it would be very "incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into "*Ireland*, before his Meſſenger's return from *Paris*; in which "time he might reaſonably hope to hear from the King him- "ſelf; and ſo wiſh'd him to have patience till the matter was "more ripe for a determination. This reaſonable Anſwer gave him no ſatisfaction; he commended the Prince's averſneſs from going into *France*; "Which, he ſaid, was the moſt "pernicious Counſel that ever could be given; that it was "a thing the King his Father abhorr'd, and never would con- "ſent to; and that he would take upon himſelf to write to "the Queen, and to give her ſuch ſolid Advice and Reaſons, "that ſhould infallibly convert Her from that deſire, and that "ſhould abundantly ſatisfy Her that his going into *Ireland* "was abſolutely neceſſary; but that a little delay in the exe- "cution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which was "to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renew'd "his advice, and importunity, for loſing no more time, but "immediately to Embark; which when he ſaw was not like to prevail with his Highneſs, he repaired to one of thoſe of the Privy Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendſhip, and lamented to him the loſs of ſuch an occaſion, which would inevitably reſtore the King; who would be equally ruin'd if the Prince went into *France*; of which he ſpoke with all the deteſtation imaginable; and ſaid, "He was ſo far ſatisfied in his Conſcience of the benefit "that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would "inevitably

"inevitably fall out by the other, that, he ſaid, if the Perſon "with whom he held this Conference, would concur with "him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without "and againſt his conſent. The other Perſon anſwer'd, "That "it was not to be attempted without his conſent; nor could "he imagine it poſſible to bring it to paſs if they ſhould both "endeavour it. He replied, "That he would invite the Prince "on Board the Frigats to a Collation; and that he knew well "he could ſo commend the Veſſels to him, that his own cu-"rioſity would eaſily invite him to a view of them; and that "aſſoon as he was on Board, he would cauſe the Sails to be "hoiſted up, and make no ſtay till he came into *Ireland*.

THE other was very angry with him for entertaining ſuch imaginations; and told him, "They neither agreed with his "Wiſdom nor his Duty; and left him in deſpair of his Con-junction; and, at the ſame time, of being able to compaſs it. He had no ſooner diſcharged himſelf of this imagination, but in the inſtant (as he had a moſt pregnant fancy) he enter-tain'd another with the ſame vigour; and reſolv'd, with all poſſible expedition, to find himſelf at *Paris*, not making the leaſt Queſtion but that he ſhould convert the Queen from any farther thought of ſending for the Prince into *France*, and as eaſily obtain Her conſent and approbation for his repair-ing into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with *France* to ſend a good ſupply of Money by him into *Ireland*; by which he ſhould acquire a moſt univerſal Reputation, and be the moſt welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and Tranſported with this happy Auguration, he left *Jerſey*; leav-ing at the ſame time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half a dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his deſire, and many promiſes, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) with-out one penny of Money to ſubſiſt on during his abſence.

Thence he goes into France.

ASSOON as he came to *Paris*, and had ſeen the Queen (whom he found very well inclin'd to do all ſhe could for the relief of *Ireland*, but reſolute to have the Prince her Son im-mediately with Her, notwithſtanding all the reaſons preſs'd againſt it by the Lords of the King's Council, who had been ſent from *Jerſey*) He attended the Cardinal; who under-ſtood him very well, and knew his Foible; and receiv'd him with all the Ceremony, and Demonſtration of Reſpect, he could poſſibly expreſs; enter'd upon the diſcourſe of *England*; cele-brated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in ſo many Actions of Courage, and Sagacity, of the higheſt Prudence and Circumſpection, with an indefatigable Induſtry and Fide-lity. He told him, "That *France* found too late their own Er-"ror; that they had been very well content to ſee the King's "great

His Tranſ-actions there with the Queen of England *and Cardinal* Mazarin.

"great Puiſſance weaken'd by his Domeſtick Troubles, which "they wiſh'd only ſhould keep him from being able to hurt "his Neighbours; but that they never had deſir'd to ſee him "at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which they ſaw now was "like to be the Caſe; and they were therefore reſolv'd to "Wed his Intereſt in ſuch a way and manner, as the Queen of "*England* ſhould deſire; in which he well knew how much "her Majeſty would depend upon his Lordſhip's Counſel.

THE Cardinal ſaid, "It was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the "Crown of *France* reſolv'd to Wed the King's Intereſt, "that the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales* ſhould reſide in "*France*; that the method he had thought of proceeding in, "was that the Queen of *England* ſhould make choice of ſuch "a Perſon, whom ſhe thought beſt Affected, and beſt Quali- "fied for ſuch an Imployment, whom the King of *France* "would immediately ſend as his Extraordinary Embaſſadour "to the King and to the Parliament; that he ſhould govern "himſelf wholly by ſuch Inſtructions as the Queen ſhould "give him; which, he knew, would be his Lordſhip's work "to prepare; that all things ſhould be made ready aſſoon as "the Queen would nominate the Embaſſadour; and that, upon "the arrival of the Prince of *Wales* in any part of *France*, "aſſoon as notice ſhould be ſent to the Court of it (for which "due preparation ſhould be made) the Embaſſadour ſhould "be in the ſame manner diſpatch'd for *England*, with one "only Inſtruction from *France*; which ſhould be, That he "ſhould demand a ſpeedy Anſwer from the Parliament, whether "they would ſatisfy the demands the *French* Court had made? "which if they ſhould refuſe to do, he ſhould forthwith, in "the King his Maſter's name, declare War againſt them, and "immediately leave the Kingdom, and return Home; and "then there ſhould be quickly ſuch an Army ready, as was "worthy for the Prince of *Wales* to venture his own Perſon "in; and that he ſhould have the honour to Redeem and Re- "ſtore his Father.

THIS diſcourſe ended, the Lord *Digby* wanted not Language to extol the Generoſity and the Magnanimity of the reſolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his Compliments in his own Coin, and from thence, to enter upon the Condition of *Ireland*; in which the Cardinal preſently interrupted him, and told him, "He knew well he was come from thence, and "meant to return thither, and likewiſe the Carriage of the "Nuntio. That the Marquis of *Ormond* was too brave a Gen- "tleman, and had merited too much of his Maſter to be de- "ſerted, and *France* was reſolv'd not to do its buſineſs by halves, "but to give the King's Affairs an entire relief in all Places; "that he ſhould carry a good Supply of Money with him into *Ireland*,

"*Ireland*, and that Arms and Ammunition ſhould be ſpeedily "ſent after him, and ſuch direction to their Agent there, as "ſhould draw off all the *Iriſh* from the Nuntio, who had not "entirely given themſelves up to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt.

THE noble Perſon had that which he moſt deſired; he was preſently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would preſently convert all at *Jerſey*; and that the Prince ſhould obey all her Commands; and enter'd into conſultation with her upon the Election of an Embaſſadour, and what Inſtructions ſhould be given him; which he took upon himſelf to prepare. Monſieur *Bellievre* was nam'd by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had deſign'd for that Office. The Cardinal approv'd the Inſtructions, and cauſed ſix thouſand Piſtols to be paid to him, who was to go to *Ireland*; and though it was a much leſs Sum than he had promiſed himſelf, from the magnificent Expreſſions the Cardinal had uſed to him, yet it provided well for his own occaſions; ſo he left the Queen with his uſual profeſſions, and confidence, and accompanied thoſe Lords to *Jerſey*, who were to attend upon his Highneſs with her Majeſty's Order for the Prince's repair into *France*, for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was ſo ſollicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of *Conde* (which he knew he would forthwith ſend to the Queen; as he did) in which he ſaid, "That he had receiv'd very certain Adver- "tiſement out of *England*, that there were ſome Perſons about "the Prince of *Wales* in *Jerſey*, who had undertaken to deli- "ver his Highneſs up into the hands of the Parliament for "twenty thouſand Piſtols; and this Letter was forthwith ſent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be ſhewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might diſcern, what would be thought of them, if they diſſwaded his Highneſs from giving a preſent obedience to his Mothers Commands.

ASSOON as they came to *Jerſey*, the Lord *Digby* uſed all the means he could to perſwade his Friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*. He told him all that had paſſed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expreſſions of the high value his Eminence had of his particular Perſon: "That an Embaſſadour "was choſen by his advice, and his Inſtructions drawn by "him, from no part of which the Embaſſadour durſt ſwerve (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himſelf had nominated the Embaſſadour, and that his Inſtructions would be exactly obſerv'd by him; ſo great a Power he had always over himſelf, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him) "That a War "would be preſently proclaim'd upon their refuſal to do what

"the

"the Embaſſadour requir'd, and that there wanted nothing "to the expediting this great Affair, but the Prince's repair- "ing into *France* without farther delay; there being no other "queſtion concerning that matter, than whether his Highneſs "ſhould ſtay in *Jerſey*? where there could be no queſtion of "his Security, until he could receive expreſs direction from "the King his Father: and therefore he conjured his Friend "to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to "the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himſelf: telling him, "How kind her Majeſty was to him, and how "confident ſhe was of his Service, and that if he ſhould be of "another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from go- "ing; who, he knew, was reſolv'd to obey his Mother; and ſo concluded his Diſcourſe, with thoſe Arguments which he thought were like to make moſt impreſſion on him; and gave him the Inſtructions by which the Embaſſadour was to be guided.

His Friend, who in truth lov'd him very heartily, though no man better knew his Infirmities, told him, "Whatever "the Prince would be diſpoſed to do, he could not change his "opinion in point of Counſel, until the King's pleaſure might "be known: he put him in mind, "How he had been before "deceiv'd at *Oxford* by the *Conte de Harcourt*, who was an "Embaſſadour likewiſe, as we then thought, named by our- "ſelves, and whoſe Inſtructions he had likewiſe drawn; and "yet, he could not but well remember how foully that buſi- "neſs had been managed, and how diſobligingly He himſelf "had been treated by that Embaſſadour; and therefore he "could not but wonder, that the ſame Artifices ſhould again "prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the Inſtru- "ctions he had drawn, would be at all conſider'd, or purſued "farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinal for- "the preſent deſign'd; of the integrity whereof, they had no "Evidence, but had reaſon enough to ſuſpect it.

The Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, ſtayed at *Paris* with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevailed with her to ſuſpend her preſent Commands for the Prince's remove from *Jerſey*, until ſhe ſhould have clear Intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though ſhe de- clared a poſitive reſolution that his Highneſs ſhould come to *Paris*, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well aſſured that his Majeſty had put himſelf into the *Scotiſh* Army as it lay before *Newark*; and that aſſoon as he came thither, he had cauſed that Garriſon to deliver the Town into the hands of the *Scots*; and that thereupon the *Scots* march'd preſently away to *New-Caſtle*: That they had preſs'd the King to do many things, which he had abſolutely refuſed

refuſed to do; and that thereupon they had put very ſtrict Guards upon his Majeſty, and would not permit any Man to repair to him, or to ſpeak with him; ſo that his Majeſty look'd upon himſelf as a Priſoner, and reſolv'd to make another Eſcape from them aſſoon as he could. Mr *Aſhburnham*, who attended upon him in his Journey from *Oxford* as his ſole Servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himſelf on board a Veſſel then at *New-Caſtle*, and bound for *France*, the *Scots* would have deliver'd him up to the Parliament. Monſieur *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy, pretended that they were ſo incenſed againſt him for briskly expoſtulating with them for their ill Treatment of the King, that it was no longer ſafe for him to remain in their Quarters, and more dangerous to return to *London*; and therefore, he had likewiſe procured a *Dutch* Ship to land him in *France*, and was come to *Paris* before the Lords return'd to *Jerſey*.

THE Queen thought now ſhe had more reaſon to be confirm'd in her former reſolution for the ſpeedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a Letter from the King, which was decipher'd by the Lord *Jermyn*; in which, he ſaid, "That he did believe that the Prince could "not be ſafe any where but with the Queen; and therefore "wiſhed, that if he were not there already, he ſhould be "ſpeedily ſent for; and *Montrevil* profeſſed to have a Meſſage by word of Mouth to the ſame purpoſe; whereas Mr *Aſhburnham*, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was as entirely truſted by the King as any Man in *England*, brought no ſuch Meſſage; and confeſs'd to the Lord *Capel*, "That he "thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince ſhould "come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was "known how the *Scots* would deal with him; and that the "King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into *France*, "could proceed from nothing but the thought of his inſecurity in *Jerſey*. The Lord *Capel* offer'd to undertake a Journey himſelf to *New-Caſtle*, and to receive the King's poſitive Commands, which he was confident would be ſubmitted to, and obeyed by all the Council as well as by himſelf; but the Queen was poſitive, that, without any more delay, the Prince ſhould immediately repair to Her; and, to that purpoſe, She ſent the Lord *Jermyn* (who was Governour of *Jerſey*) together with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, who with the two Lords who had been ſent to her by the Prince, ſhould make haſte to *Jerſey* to ſee her Commands executed. Whilſt they are upon their Journey thither, it will be ſeaſonable to enquire how the King came to involve himſelf in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Liberty and Freedom.

MON-

A farther Account of Monsieur Montrevil *his Negotiation with the* Scots.

MONSIEUR *Montrevil* was a Person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the *English* and *Scotish* Nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he receiv'd from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his Negotiation, restrain'd from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a form'd declar'd dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hard-heartedness in such chief Ministers, to sacrifice such Instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary Cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the *English* Court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discover'd somewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I say if what I here set down of that Transaction, shall appear some vindication of that Gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserv'd in History as the very Soul of it, towards all Persons who come to be mention'd in it; and since I have in my hands all the original Letters which passed from him to the King, and the King's Answers and Directions thereupon, or such Authentick Copies thereof, as have been by my self examin'd with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those Actions, which appear to have resulted from Ingenuity, and upright Intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

HE was then a young Gentlemen of parts very equal to the Trust the Cardinal repos'd in him, and to the Imployment he gave him; and of a Nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and couzenage. Whilst he took his Measures only from the *Scotish* Commissioners at *London*, and from those Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the King the least Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any complyance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price of condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Bishops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant; and he used all the Arguments which occurr'd to him, to perswade his Majesty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his Majesty unmoveable

movable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that Journey we mention'd in the end of the last Year; to discover whether the same rude and rigid Spirit, which Govern'd those Commissioners at *Westminster*, possessed also the Chief Officers of the *Scotish* Army, and that Committee of State that always remain'd with the Army.

THE *Scotish* Army was then before *Newark*; and in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was confirm'd in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environ'd with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irresistible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commission to comply with the most extravagant Demands from Persons like to make good what they undertook, except such Propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of *Mountrose*; whom the King resolv'd never to desert, nor any who had joyn'd with and assisted him; all which, he desir'd to unite to those who might now be perswaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some Persons who had then Command in the *Scotish* Army; of whose Affections and inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Interest, a greater than was due to them.

WHEN *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavour'd to undeceive those who had been perswaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the Church Government (the expectation, and assurance whereof, had indeed first enabled them to make that Expedition) would at last prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found those in whom the Power, at least the Command of the Army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which presided in the Counsels, rather devising and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former Demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stay'd for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they whould declare their Resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offer'd, and desir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception

for Himself, and for his Servants who should attend him, and his Friends who should resort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in no body's Power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest Power in the Conduct of the most secret Counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker Resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct Undertakings; and imployed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his Majesty to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himself had propos'd; and that they would send a good Body of their Horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to Conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be sign'd by himself, and sent to the King as his Engagement; and shew'd it to those who had been most clear to him in their Expressions of duty to the King; which, being approv'd by them, he sent by the other who had appear'd to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest Trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserv'd towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appear'd to be the most Hostile jealousy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewise return'd to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Translated out of the Original.

The Paper Montrevil *sent to the King, being a promise for the* Scots *receiving the King* April 1.

"I Do promise in the Name of the King and Queen Regent (my Master and Mistress) and by virtue of the Powers "that I have from their Majesties, that if the King of Great "Britain shall put himself into the *Scotish* Army, he shall be "there receiv'd as their Natural Soveraign; and that he shall "be with them in all freedom of his Conscience and Honour; "and that all such of his Subjects and Servants as shall be "there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in "their Persons; and that the said *Scots*, shall really and effectually joyn with the said King of Great Britain, and also "receive all such Persons as shall come in unto him, and joyn "with them for his Majesty's Preservation: And that they "shall protect all his Majesty's Party to the utmost of their "Power, as his Majesty will Command all those under his "obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ their Armies and Forces, to assist his Majesty in the "procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good

"of

" of his Majesty and his said Kingdoms, and in recovery of his " Majesty's just Rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto " put my Hand and Seal this first of *April* 1646.

De Montrevil, Resident pour sa Majestie tres Chretienne en Ecosse.

MANY days had not passed after the sending that Express, when he found such Chagrin, and Tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with; one Man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a Man Authority to say that from him which the other still avow'd he had done; that *Montrevil* thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the foul change, and to diswade him from venturing his Person in the Power of such Men; but the Express who carried that Letter, was taken Prisoner; and though he made his Escape, and preserv'd his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compell'd to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having inform'd the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his Master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appear'd again to be of another Temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's Presence in the Army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous Resolution, " That they would send a considerable party " of Horse to meet his Majesty at *Burton* upon *Trent*; for that " they could not advance farther with the whole Party; but " that some Horse should be sent to wait upon his Majesty at " *Bosworth*, which is the middle way between *Burton* and " *Harborough*, whither they hoped his own Horse would be " able to convey him securely; they desired " The King to " appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wished, " That when their Troops should meet his Majesty, " he would tell them that he was going into *Scotland*; upon " which, they would find themselves obliged to attend him " into their Army, without being able to discover any thing " of a Treaty; of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive " no advertisement; of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a very full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th of the same *April*, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the same Letter, he inform'd his Majesty, " That they did not desire that any of those Forces " which had followed the King's Party, should joyn with " them, no nor so much as those Horse that should have ac- " companied his Majesty, should remain in their Army with " him: That they had with much ado agreed, that the two " Princes (for his Majesty, upon Prince *Rupert's* humble sub-

miſſion, was reconciled to both his Nephews) "might follow "the King, with ſuch other of his Servants as were not ex- "cepted from pardon; and that they might ſtay with his Ma- "jeſty until the Parliament of *England* ſhould demand them; "in which caſe they ſhould not refuſe to deliver them; but "that they would firſt furniſh them with ſome means of get- "ting beyond Seas.

THE King had propos'd, "That there might be a Union "between them and the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; and that his "Forces might be joyn'd with their Army; which they had ſaid, "They could not conſent to, with reference to the per- "ſon of *Mountroſe*; who, after ſo much blood ſpilt by him "of many of the greateſt Families, they thought could not be "ſafe among them: whereupon the King had declared, "That "he would ſend him his Extraordinary Embaſſadour into "*France*; which they appear'd not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which *Montrevil* likewiſe gave an Account in the ſame Letter: "That they could not give their "conſent that the Marquiſs of *Mountroſe* ſhould go Embaſſa- "dour into *France*, but into any other place, he might; and "that they again, without limiting the time, inſiſted upon "ſettling the Presbyterian Government; and he concluded his Letter with theſe words, "I will ſay no more but this, "that his Majeſty and You know the *Scots* better than I do; "I repreſent theſe things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to "do; I have not taken upon me the boldneſs to give any "Council to his Majeſty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or "means to make better Conditions, I think he ought not to "accept of theſe; but if he ſees all things deſperate every "where elſe, and that he and his Servants cannot be ſecure "with his Parliament of *England*, I dare yet aſſure him, that "though He and his Servants may not be here with all that "ſatisfaction perhaps which he might deſire, yet He eſpecially "ſhall be as ſecure as poſſible.

IN another Letter dated the next day after (the 16th of *April*) to the ſame Secretary, he hath theſe words; "I have "Orders from the Deputies of *Scotland* to aſſure you, that they "will not herein fail (which related to ſending the Horſe to meet his Majeſty) "aſſoon as they ſhall know his day; and "that the King ſhall be receiv'd into the Army as hath been "promiſed; and that his Conſcience ſhall not be forced. And in the laſt Letter, which his Majeſty or his Secretary receiv'd from him, and which was dated the 20th of *April* 1646, there are theſe words, "They tell me that they will do more than "can be expreſſed; but let not his Majeſty hope for any more "than I ſend him word of; that he may not be deceiv'd; and "let him take his meaſures aright; for certainly the Enter- "priſe

"prise is full of danger: yet, in the same Letter, he says "the disposition of the Chiefs of the *Scotish* Army is such as "the King can desire; they begin to draw off their Troops "towards *Burton*, and the hindring his Majesty from falling "into the hands of the *English* is of so great Importance to "them, that it cannot be believ'd but that they will do all "that lies in their Power to hinder it.

THIS was the proceeding of Monsieur *Montrevil* in that whole Transaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his first Conversation with the Officers of the *Scotish* Army, and some of the Committee, and when he sign'd that Engagement upon the first of *April*, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his dispatches afterwards Phlegmatick enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular Persons with the Promises and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the Indignity that was offer'd to that Crown in the violation of those Promises, and Engagements; which was the reason of his being Commanded to return Home, assoon as the King came to *New-Castle*; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the *Scots*, and make it appear to the Parliament how far *France* was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautions and Animadversions which the King receiv'd from *Montrevil* after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterprise, if his Majesty had discern'd any other course to take, that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the *Scots*; but he was clearly destitute of any other Refuge. Every day brought the News of the loss of some Garrison; and as *Oxford* was already block'd up at a distance, by those Horse which *Fairfax* had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out of *Oxford*; so he had soon reduced *Exeter*, and some other Garrisons in *Devon-shire*. The Governours then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being Reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garrisons before they were press'd with the last Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was observ'd that better and more honourable Conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the Places they were trusted with, till they had not one days Victual left; of which We shall observe more hereafter. By this means *Fairfax* was within three days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully resolv'd what to do.

HIS Majesty had before sent to Two Eminent Commanders

of Name, who had block'd up the Town at a distance, "That "if they would pass their words (how slender a security so-"ever, from such Men who had broken so many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) "That they would immediately Con-"duct him to the Parliament, he would have put himself in-"to their hands; for he was yet perswaded to think so well of the City of *London*, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there; but those Officers would submit to no such Engagements; and great care was taken to have strict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolv'd to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in *Oxford*, and so to be given up, or taken, when the Town should be Surrender'd, as a Prisoner to the Independents Army; which he was advertised from all hands, would treat him very Barbarously.

The King leaves Oxford, April 27. 1646.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the *Scotish* Army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his Journey, by sending for a Party of their Horse to meet him, as they had profer'd; but early in the Morning, upon the 27th day of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Ashburnham*, and a Divine (one *Hudson*) who understood the By-ways as well as the Common, and was indeed a very skilful Guide. In this Equipage he left *Oxford* on a *Monday*, leaving those of his Council in *Oxford* who were privy to his going out, not inform'd whether he would go to the *Scotish* Army, or get privately into *London*, and lye there conceal'd, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himself at that time a fixt Resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was; insomuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majesty was gone, was sat down, and had made his Circumvallation about *Oxford*, before he knew that the King was in the *Scotish* Army; but the King had wasted that time in several Places; whereof some were Gentlemens Houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purposely to be inform'd of the condition of the Marquis of *Mountrose*, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the *Scotish* Army before *Newark*, and sent for *Montrevil* to come to him.

Puts himself into the Scotish *Army before* Newark.

It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the General's Lodging, and discover'd himself to him; who either was, or seem'd to be, exceedingly surprised, and confounded at his Majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were no

no leſs perplexed. An expreſs was preſently ſent to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the leaſt imagination of. The Parliament were ſo diſorder'd with the Intelligence, that at firſt they reſolv'd to Command their General to raiſe the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all Expedition to *Newark*; but the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, diverted them from that, by aſſuring them "That all their Orders would "meet with an abſolute Obedience in their Army: ſo they made a ſhort diſpatch to them, in which it was evident that they believ'd the King had gone to them by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, "That they "ſhould ſhortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, "That they ſhould carefully watch that his "Majeſty did not diſpoſe himſelf to go ſome whither elſe. The great care in the Army, was, that there might be only reſpect and good manners ſhew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never ask'd the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, ſuffer'd the Officers of the Army to reſort to, or to have any diſcourſe with his Majeſty. *Montrevil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their conſent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had paſſed between them, what they had promiſed, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he receiv'd, he was not without apprehenſion, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterpriſes, and to bring himſelf near the *Scotiſh* Army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Bellaſis* to Surrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they reſolv'd to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for ſome Months longer from that Enemy, upon honourable Conditions, that Army with great Expedition march'd towards *New-Caſtle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was ſtill the ſame; and great ſtrictneſs uſed that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much leſs receive Letters from any.

Their manner of treating his Majeſty.

The King orders Newark to be ſurrender'd; whereupon the Scotiſh Army marches Northward with the King to New-Caſtle

It was an obſervation in that time, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of diſcourſe upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foreſaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The firſt Sermon that was Preach'd before the King, after the Army roſe from *Newark* to march Northwards, was upon the 19th *Chap.* of the II. Book of *Samuel* the 41, 42, and 43. *verſes.*

41. *And behold, all the Men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, Why have our Brethren the Men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the King and his Household, and all David's Men with him over Jordan?*
42. *And all the Men of Judah answered the Men of Israel, Because the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*
43. *And the Men of Israel answered the Men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? and the words of the Men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the Men of Israel.*

UPON which words the Preacher gave Men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their King, they resolv'd to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majesty came no sooner to *New-Castle*, than both Monsieur *Montrevil* was restrain'd from having any conference with him, and Mr *Ashburnham* was advised "To shift for himself, or else that he "should be deliver'd up to the Parliament; and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen sent those Lords to hasten the Prince's remove from *Jersey*.

Where Montrevil was restrain'd from him.

The Lord Jermyn and other Lords arrive at Jersey, about the end of June from the Queen, to bring the Prince into France.

WHEN those Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jersey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which she told him, "That she was now fully satisfied, from the Intelligence "she had from *New-Castle* and *London*, that he could not make "any longer residence in *Jersey*, without apparent danger of "falling into the Enemy's hands; and that if he should con- "tinue there, all possible attempts would be suddainly made, "as well by Treachery as by Force to get his Person into their "Power; and therefore, her Majesty did positively require "him, to give immediate Obedience to the King's Commands, "mention'd in the Letter which he had lately sent by Sr *Dud-* "*ley Wyat* (which is set out before) "and reiterated in a Let- "ter which she had since receiv'd from the King by Mon- "sieur *Montrevil*. Her Majesty said, "That she had the great- "est assurance from the Crown of *France*, that possibly could "be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to "continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; "and she engaged her own word, that whenever his Coun- "cil should find it fit for him to go out of *France*, she would "never oppose it; and that during his residence in that King- "dom, all matters of Importance which might concern him-

"self

"ſelf, or relate to his Majeſty's Affairs ſhould be debated and "reſolv'd by himſelf and the Council, in ſuch manner as they "ought to have been, if he had continued in *England*, or in "*Jerſey*: and concluded, "That he ſhould make all poſſible "haſte to her.

THE Lords which arriv'd with this diſpatch from her Majeſty, had no imagination that there would have been any queſtion of his Highneſs's complyance with the Queen's Command; and therefore, aſſoon as they had kiſs'd the Prince's hand, which was in the Afternoon, they deſired that the Council might preſently be called; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, *Digby*, and *Wentworth*, being likewiſe preſent, and ſitting in the Council, they deſired the Prince "That his Mother's Letter might be read; and then, ſince "they conceiv'd there could be no debate upon his High- "neſs's yielding Obedience to the Command of the King and "Queen, that they might only conſider of the day when he "might begin his Journey, and of the order he would obſerve "in it. The Lords of the Council repreſented to the Prince, "That they were the only Perſons that were accountable to "the King, and to the Kingdom, for any reſolution his High- "neſs ſhould take, and for the Conſequence thereof; and that "the other Lords who were preſent, had no Title to deliver "their advice, or to be preſent at the debate, they being in "no degree reſponſible for what his Highneſs ſhould reſolve "to do; and therefore deſired that the whole matter might be "debated; the State of the King's preſent Condition under- "ſtood as far as it might be; and the Reaſons conſider'd "which made it Counſellable for his Highneſs to repair into "*France*, and what might be ſaid againſt it; and the rather, "becauſe it was very notorious that the King had given no "poſitive direction in the Point, but upon a Suppoſition that "the Prince could not remain ſecure in *Jerſey*; which was "likewiſe the ground of the Queen's laſt Command; and which "they believ'd had no Foundation of Reaſon; and that his "Reſidence there might be very unqueſtionably ſafe. This begot ſome warmth, and contradiction between Perſons; inſomuch as the Prince thought it very neceſſary to ſuſpend the debate till the next day, to the end that by ſeveral and private Conferences together between the Lords who came from *Paris*, and thoſe who were in *Jerſey*, they might convert, or confirm each other in the ſame opinions; at leaſt that the next debate might be free from Paſſion and unkindneſs; and ſo the Council roſe, and the ſeveral Lords betook themſelves to uſe the ſame Arguments, or ſuch as they thought more agreeable to the ſeveral Perſons, as the Lord *Digby* had before done to his Friend, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

Debates in the Prince's Council concerning his going.

THE

The Lord Capel delivers his opinion against it.

THE next day when they were called together, the Lord *Capel* gave an account of all that had pass'd with the Queen from the time that the Lord *Colepepper* and he came thither; and "That the reasons they had carried from the Prince, had "so far prevailed with the Queen, that her Majesty resolv'd "to take no final resolution till she receiv'd farther Adver- "tisement of the King's pleasure; and he did not think that "the information she had receiv'd from Monsieur *Montrevil* "had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had "done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to "receive the King's positive Command before the Prince "should remove out of his Majesty's own Dominions; there "being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: That "he had then offer'd to the Queen, that he would himself "make a Journey to *New-Castle* to receive his Majesty's "Commands; and that he now made the same offer to the "Prince; and because it did appear that his Majesty was very "strictly guarded, and that Persons did not easily find access "to him, and that his own Person might be seised upon in "his Journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, "and so his Highness might be disappointed of the informa- "tion he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty "as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his "opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jersey* within the "space of one Month, the Prince should resolve to remove "into *France*, if in the mean time such preparatories were "made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet "defective.

HE said, "He had been lately at *Paris* by the Prince's "Command; and had receiv'd many Graces from the Queen, "who had vouchsafed to impart all her own Reasons for the "Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she "had of the Affections of *France*; but, that he did still won- "der, if the Court of *France* had so great a desire, as was "pretended, that the Prince of *Wales* should repair thither, "that in the two Months time his Highness had been in *Jer-* "*sey*, they had never sent a Gentleman to see him, and to "invite him to come thither; nor had these who came now "from the Queen, brought so much as a Pass for him to come "into *France*: That he could not but observe, that all We had "hitherto proposed to our selves from *France*, had proved in "no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thou- "sand Foot, which We had expected in the West before the "Prince came from thence; and that We had more reason to "be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice of "*France*, that the King had now put himself into the hands "of the *Scots*; and therefore We ought to be the more watch-

"ful

"ful in the diſpoſing the Perſon of the Prince by their ad-
"vice likewiſe. He concluded, "That he could not give his
"advice, or conſent, that the Prince ſhould repair into *France*,
"till the King's pleaſure might be known, or ſuch other cir-
"cumſtances might be provided in *France*, as had been hi-
"therto neglected.

THE Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wonder'd very much, "That there ſhould be any doubt of the Affections of "*France*, or that it ſhould be believ'd that the Queen could "be deceiv'd, or not well enough inform'd in that particular: They related many parriculars which had paſſed between the Cardinal and them in private Conference, and the great profeſſions of Affection he made to the King. They ſaid, "That "The Embaſſadour who was now appointed to go thither, was "choſen by the Queen her ſelf; and had no other Inſtructions "but what ſhe had given him; and that he was not to ſtay "there above a Month; at the end of which he was to de-"nounce War againſt the Parliament, if they did not comply "with ſuch Propoſitions as he made; and ſo to return; and "then, that there ſhould be an Army of thirty thouſand Men "immediately Tranſported into *England*, with the Prince of "*Wales* in the head of them; and the Embaſſadour was al-"ready gone from *Paris*, but was not to Embark till he ſhould "firſt receive Advertiſement that the Prince of *Wales* was "Landed in *France*; for that *France* had no reaſon to intereſt "themſelves ſo far in the King's Quarrel, if the Prince of "*Wales* ſhould refuſe to venture his Perſon with them; or, it "may be, engage againſt them upon another Intereſt.

The Arguments of the Lord Digby *and Lord* Jermyn *for it.*

THEY therefore beſought the Prince, and the Lords "That "they would conſider well, whether he would diſappoint his "Father and Himſelf of ſo great Fruit as they were even rea-"dy to Gather, and of which they could not be diſappointed "but by unſeaſonable Jealouſies of the Integrity of *France*, "and by delaying to give them ſatisfaction in the remove of "the Prince from *Jerſey*.

THESE Arguments preſs'd with all the aſſurance imaginable, by Perſons of that near Truſt and Confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceiv'd Themſelves, nor to have any purpoſe to deceive the Prince, wrought ſo far with his Highneſs, that he declared "He would comply with the "Commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into *France*; which being reſolv'd, he wiſh'd "There might be no more "debate upon that point, but that they would all prepare to "go with him, and that there might be as great an Unity in "their Counſels, as had hitherto always been.

The Prince reſolves to go into France.

THIS ſo poſitive Declaration of the Prince of his own Reſolution, made all farther Arguments againſt it not only uſe-

leſs

leſs but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the Council, the Lord *Colepepper* only excepted, beſought his Highneſs "That he would give them his "Pardon, if they did not further wait upon him; for they "conceiv'd their Commiſſion to be now at an end; and that "they could not aſſume any Authority by it to themſelves, if "they waited upon him into *France*; nor expect that their "Counſels there ſhould be hearken'd unto, when they were "now rejected. And ſo, after ſome ſharp replies between the Lords of different Judgments, which made the Council break up the ſooner, they who reſolv'd not to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and kiſs'd his hand; his Highneſs then declaring, "That he would be gone the next day by five "of the Clock in the Morning, though the croſs Winds, and want of ſome Proviſions which were neceſſary for the Journey detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the Diſſenting Lords every day waited upon him, and were receiv'd by him very graciouſly; his Highneſs well knowing and expreſſing to them a confidence, in their Affections, and that they would be ſure to wait upon him, whenever his occaſions ſhould be ready for their Service. But between them and the other Lords, there grew by degrees ſo great a ſtrangeneſs, that, the laſt day, they did not ſo much as ſpeak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had preſumed to diſſent from what her Majeſty had ſo poſitively commanded. And though they neither loved their Perſons, nor cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they had gone into *France*, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjuncture, they believ'd that the Diſſent and Separation of all thoſe Perſons who were truſted by the King with the Perſon of the Prince, would blaſt their Counſel, and weigh down the ſingle poſitive Determination of the Queen her ſelf.

All but one of his Council diſſent and ſtay behind.

On the other ſide, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Perſons ſo entruſted; but that in truth many ill Conſequences would reſult from that ſuddain departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions, where his reſidence might have been ſecure in reſpect of the Affairs of *England*; where, beſides the Garriſons of *Silly* and *Pendennis* (which might always be reliev'd by Sea) there remain'd ſtill within his Majeſty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and ſome other places of leſs name, which, upon any diviſions among themſelves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turn'd the Scale: Nor did they know, of what ill Conſequence it might be to the King, that in ſuch a Conjnncture the Prince ſhould be remov'd, when it might be more Counſellable that he ſhould appear in *Scotland*.

More-

MOREOVER, Mr *Aſhburnham*'s opinion, which he had deliver'd to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man ſo entirely truſted by the King, who had ſeen him as lately as any Body, ſhould bring no directions from his Majeſty to his Son, and that he ſhould believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to ſtay in *Jerſey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majeſty's pleaſure was better underſtood, confirm'd them in the judgment they had deliver'd.

BUT there was another reaſon that prevailed with thoſe who had been made Privy to it, and which out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publiſh, or inſiſt upon; it was the Inſtructions given to *Bellievre* (and which too much manifeſted the irreſolution her Majeſty had) not to inſiſt upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Embaſſadour was required to do all he could to perſwade the Presbyterians to joyn with the King's Party, and not to inſiſt upon the deſtruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compaſſed, He was to preſs, as the advice of the King his Maſter, his Majeſty to part with the Church, and to ſatisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards obſerv'd and purſued by *Bellievre*; which thoſe Lords perfectly abhorr'd; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to thoſe Counſels that had begun, and were to carry on that Confuſion.

WITHIN a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jerſey*, the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* left it likewiſe, and went for *England*; the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remain'd together in *Jerſey* to expect the King's pleaſure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majeſty's Service, of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majeſty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the ſincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewiſe waited upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted thoſe violent Preſſures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more diſquiet than he ſuffer'd from all the Inſolence of his Enemies.

IN a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixt Rules of policy and diſcretion, and if the current towards his deſtruction had not run with ſuch a Torrent, as carried down all obſtructions of Sobriety and Wiſdom, and made the Confuſion inevitable, it is very probable that this ſo ſuddain remove of the Prince from *Jerſey* with all the Circumſtances thereof, might have been look'd upon, and Cenſured with Severity, as an Action that ſwerv'd from that Prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been

long

long eſtabliſh'd; but by the fatal and prodigious Calamities which follow'd, all Counſels of wiſe and unwiſe Men proving equally unſucceſsful, the Memory of what had paſſed before, grew to be the leſs thought upon and conſider'd.

Tranſactions relating to the King in the Scotiſh Army.

WHILST theſe things were thus Tranſacted in other Parts, the King remain'd yet in the *Scotiſh* Army; that People behaving themſelves in ſuch a manner, that moſt Men believ'd they would never have parted with his Majeſty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many ſharp Inſtances, "That the King might be deliver'd into their hands; "and that the *Scotiſh* Army would return into their own Coun- "try, having done what they were ſent for, and the War be- "ing at an end. To which the Council of *Scotland* ſeem'd to Anſwer with Courage enough, and inſiſted moſt on thoſe Arguments of the King's legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majeſty's Declarations, urged againſt the Parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be Anſwer'd; and as much condemn'd Them, as the Parliament.

IN the mean time, though the King receiv'd all outward Reſpect, he was in truth in the condition of a Priſoner; no Servant whom he could Truſt ſuffer'd to come to him; and though many Perſons of Quality who had ſerv'd the King in the War, when they ſaw the reſolute Anſwers made by the *Scots*, "That they neither would nor could compel their King "to return to the Parliament, if his Majeſty had no mind to "do ſo, repaired to *New-Caſtle*, where his Majeſty was, yet "none of them were ſuffer'd to ſpeak to him; nor could he receive from, or ſend any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the *Scots* obſerv'd all diſtances, and perform'd all the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profeſſion to him of their Duty and good purpoſes, "Which they ſaid they "would manifeſt aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable; and then "his Servants, and Friends ſhould repair to him with all Li- "berty, and be well receiv'd: and as they endeavour'd to perſwade the King to expect this from them, ſo they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and ſome of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to diſcover their Intentions.

The King ſends to the Marquis of Mountroſe *to disband; which he did.*

THUS they prevailed with the King to ſend his poſitive Orders to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majeſty; and this was done with ſo much earneſtneſs, and by a particular Meſſenger known and truſted, that the Marquis obeyed, and tranſported himſelf into *France*.

THEN

THEN they employ'd their *Alexander Henderſon*, and their other Clergy, to perſwade the King to conſent to the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy in *England*, as he had in *Scotland*; and it was, and is ſtill believ'd that if his Majeſty would have been induced to have ſatisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a Party in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* to have been ſatisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declar'd for the King, and have preſently joyn'd with the Loyal Party in all places for his Majeſty's defence. But the King was too Conſcientious to buy his Peace at ſo Prophane and Sacrilegious a Price as was demanded; and he was ſo much too hard for Mr *Henderſon* in the Argumentation (as appears by the Papers that paſſed between them, which were ſhortly after Communicated to the world) that the old Man himſelf was ſo far Convinced, and Converted, that he had a very deep ſenſe of the miſchief he had himſelf been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt Friends, and Confidents; and dyed of grief, and heart-broken, within a very ſhort time after he departed from his Majeſty.

They imploy Henderſon *to the King to diſpute with him concering Church Government.*

Mr Henderſon *dyes ſhortly after.*

WHILST the King ſtayed at *New-Caſtle*, *Bellievre* the *French* Embaſſadour, who was ſent from *Paris* after the Prince arriv'd there, and by whom the Cardinal had promiſed to preſs the Parliament ſo imperiouſly, and to denounce a War againſt them if they refus'd to yield to what was reaſonable towards an Agreement with the King, came to his Majeſty, after he had ſpent ſome time at *London* in all the low Application to the Parliament that can be imagin'd, without any mention of the King with any tenderneſs, as if his Intereſt were at all conſider'd by the King his Maſter, and without any conſultation with thoſe of his Majeſty's Party; who were then in *London*, and would have been very ready to have adviſed with him. But he choſe rather to converſe with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; from whoſe Information he took all his Meaſures; and they aſſured him, "That nothing "could be done for the King, except he would give up the "Church; extirpate Epiſcopacy; and grant all the Lands be"longing to Cathedral Churches to ſuch Uſes as the Parlia"ment ſhould adviſe; ſo that, when he came to the King, he preſs'd him very earneſtly to that Condeſcention.

Bellievre's negotiations at London, *and with the King afterwards at* New-Caſtle.

BUT, beſides the matter propoſed, in which his Majeſty was unmoveable, he had no eſteem of any thing the Embaſſadour ſaid to him, having too late diſcover'd the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already ſaid, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and aſſurance that his Majeſty ſhould be well receiv'd

receiv'd in the *Scotish* Army, and that they would be firm to his Intereſt, his Majeſty had ventur'd to put himſelf into their hands; and he was no ſooner there, than all they with whom *Montrevil* had Treated, diſavow'd their undertaking what the King had been inform'd of; and though the Envoy did avow, and juſtify, what he had inform'd the King, to the Faces of the Perſons, who had given their Engagements, the Cardinal choſe rather to Recall, and Diſcountenance the Miniſter of that Crown, than to enter into any Expoſtulation with the Parliament, or the *Scots*.

THE Embaſſadour, by an Expreſs, quickly inform'd the Cardinal that the King was too reſerv'd in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction; and therefore wiſhed, "That ſome Body might "be ſent over, who was like to have ſo much credit with his "Majeſty as to perſwade him to what was neceſſary for his "Service. Upon which, the Queen, who was never adviſed by thoſe who either underſtood, or valued his true Intereſt, conſulted with thoſe about her; and ſent Sr *William D'avenant*, and honeſt Man, and a Witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a Truſt, with a Letter of credit to the King (who knew the Perſon well enough under another Character than was like to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was intruſted) although her Majeſty had likewiſe other ways declared her opinion to his Majeſty, "That he ſhould part with "the Church for his Peace and Security.

Sr William D'avenant ſent from the Queen to the King to perſwade him to give up the Church.

SIR *William D'avenant* had, by the countenance of the *French* Embaſſadour, eaſy admiſſion to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwer'd him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of Conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome Reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propos'd; and, among other things, ſaid, "It was the advice "and opinion of all his Friends; his Majeſty asking, "What "Friends? and he anſwering, that it was the opinion of the "Lord *Jermyn*, the King ſaid, "That the Lord *Jermyn* did "not underſtand any thing of the Church. The other ſaid, "the Lord *Colepepper* was of the ſame mind. The King ſaid, *Colepepper* had no Religion: and asked, "Whether the Chan-"cellor of the Exchequer was of that mind? to which he anſwer'd, "He did not know; for that he was not there, and "had deſerted the Prince: and thereupon, ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceiv'd againſt the Chancellor; to which the King ſaid, "The Chancellor

"was

"was an honeſt Man, and would never deſert Him, nor the "Prince, nor the Church; and that he was ſorry he was not "with his Son; but that his Wife was miſtaken: *D'avenant* then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mention'd the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of Importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other Man; and forbid him to preſume to come again into his Preſence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and return'd into *France*, to give an Account of his ill Succeſs to thoſe who ſent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and Activity of the *French* Embaſſadour in *England*, were thus fruſtrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Caſtle*, ſo all the profeſſions which had been made of reſpect and tenderneſs towards the Prince of *Wales*, when his Perſon ſhould once appear in *France*, were as unworthily diſappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the leaſt Meſſage ſent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was ſpent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King ſhould treat him? and how he ſhould behave himſelf towards the King? whether he ſhould take place of Monſieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies ſhould be obſerv'd between the Prince of *Wales* and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many ſuch other particulars; in all which they were reſolv'd to give the Law themſelves; and which had been fitter to have been adjuſted in *Jerſey*, before he put himſelf into their Power, than diſputed afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal.

The Prince's treatment when he came into France.

THERE can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the ſole Miniſter of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be ſaid, did think the preſence of the Prince there of the higheſt importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to perſwade the Queen that it was as neceſſary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majeſty: but now that work was over, and the Perſon of the Prince brought into their power, without the leaſt publick Act or Ceremony to invite him thither, it was no leſs his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he fear'd more than the Parliament, ſhould believe that the Prince came thither without their conſent, and in truth againſt their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuſe to interpoſe, and mediate, to make

up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scotish* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be restored to Peace; but that when they had perform'd that Office of Mediation, they had perform'd their Function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scots*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England*; nor should he there find any means, or assistance, to disturb it. And it was believ'd by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promising "That they should "receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in "*France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*. And it can hardly be believ'd, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family; but a mean addition to the Pension which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her Son; who was wholly to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

WHEN the *Scots* had secured the Peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Mountrose*, and by his Transporting himself beyond the Seas and by putting to death several persons of Name who had follow'd the Marquis, and had been taken Prisoners, among whom Sr *Robert Spotswood* was one, a worthy honest Loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was then in Arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death.) And when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident that they could not without the most barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principles of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and consent: And when the Earl of *Louden* had publickly declar'd to the two Houses of Parliament in a Conference, "That an Eternal Infamy would "lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if they should de-

"live

"liver the Perſon of the King; the ſecuring of which was "equally their Duty, as it was the Parliament's, and the diſ- "poſal of his Perſon in order to that ſecurity, did equally be- "long to Them as to the Parliament; however, they ſaid, "they would uſe all the perſwaſion, and all the importunity "they could with the King that his Majeſty might yield, and "conſent to the propoſitions the Parliament had ſent to him.

THE Parliament had, upon the firſt notice of the King's being arriv'd in the *Scotiſh* Army, ſent a poſitive Command, to the Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding in the *Scotiſh* Army, that the Perſon of the King ſhould be forthwith ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle; but the *Scots*, who apprehended they could not be long without ſuch an Order, had, within two days after his Majeſty's coming to them, and after he had, cauſed *Newark* to be deliver'd up, with wonderful expedition marched towards *New-Caſtle*; and were arriv'd there before they receiv'd that Order for ſending his Majeſty to *Warwick*; which proceeding of theirs, pleaſed his Majeſty very well, among many other things which diſpleaſed him; and perſwaded him, that though they would obſerve their own method, they would, in the end, do ſomewhat for his Service.

UPON the receiving that Order, they renew'd their profeſſions to the Parliament of obſerving punctually all that had been agreed between them; and beſought them, "That ſince "they had promiſed the King before he left *Oxford*, to ſend "Propoſitions to him, they would now do it; and ſaid, that "if he refuſed to comply with them, to which they ſhould "perſwade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they adviſed the King, and prevailed with him, to ſend Orders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to ſurrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was, and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then beſieged them; and likewiſe to publiſh a general Order (which they cauſed to be printed) "That all Governours of any Garriſons for his Majeſty, ſhould immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and honourable Conditions, ſince his Majeſty reſolv'd in all things to be adviſed by his Parliament; and till this was done, they ſaid, they could not declare themſelves in that manner for his Majeſty's Service, and Intereſt, as they reſolv'd to do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to ſerve the Parliament in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct, until the War ſhould be ended; but, that done, they had no more obligations to the Parliament; and that, when his Majeſty had no more Forces on Foot, nor Garriſons which held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War was at an end; and then they could ſpeak and expoſtulate

The King upon the Scots deſire, ſends Orders for the Surrender of Oxford and all his other Garriſons.

"with freedom. By which arts, they prevailed with the King to send, and publish such Orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the Case then stood, he could have receiv'd little benefit by not publishing.

The Parliament, upon the Scots requests, sends Propositions of Peace to the King at New-Castle; *about the end of* July.

THE Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the presumption of the *Scots* in neglecting to send the King to *Warwick*) to send their Propositions to the King (which they knew his Majesty would never grant) by Commissioners of both Houses, who had no other Authority, or Power, than "To demand a po-"sitive Answer from the King in ten days, and then to return. These Propositions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and contain'd such an eradication of the Government of the Church and State, that the King told them, "He knew not "what Answer to make to them, till he should be inform'd "what Power or Authority they had left to him, and his "Heirs, when he had given all that to them which they de-"sired. He desir'd, That he might be removed to some of "his own Houses, and that he might reside there, till, upon a "Personal Treaty with his Parliament, such an agreement "might be establish'd as the Kingdom might enjoy peace and "happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do "by the concessions they proposed.

His Majesty's Answer.

THE *Scots* who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their word to the Parliament, and used all the rude Importunity and Threats to his Majesty, to perswade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed "That the Propositions were higher in many "things than they approv'd of, yet they saw no other means "for him to close with his Parliament, than by granting what "they required.

The Scots *inforce the Parliament Propositions by their Chancellor.*

THE Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, "That the conse-"quence of his Answer to the Propositions, was as great, as the "ruin, or preservation of his Crown or Kingdoms. That the "Parliament after many bloody Battles, had got the strong "holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their hands: that they "had his Revenue, Excise, Assessments, Sequestrations, and "Power to raise all the Men and Money of the Kingdom "that they had gain'd Victory over all, and that they had a "strong Army to maintain it; so that they might do what "they would with Church or State: that they desired neither "Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over them; and "had sent these Propositions to his Majesty, without the "granting whereof, the Kingdom and his People could not "be in safety: that if he refused to Assent, he would lose all "his Friends in Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Coun-

"try;

"try; and that all *England* would joyn againſt him as one "Man to proceſs, and depoſe him, and to ſet up another Go- "vernment; and ſo, that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, "would agree to ſettle Religion and Peace without him, to "the ruin of his Majeſty, and his Poſterity: and concluded, "that if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come "and Reign in *Scotland*.

AND it is very true that the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, which was then ſitting in *Scotland*, had Petition'd the Conſervators of the Peace of the Kingdom, "That if the King "ſhould refuſe to give ſatisfaction to his Parliament, he might "not be permitted to come into *Scotland*. This kind of Argumentation did more provoke than perſwade the King; he told them, with great Reſolution, and Magnanimity, "That "no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half ſo mi- "ſerable, and grievous to him, as that which they would "perſwade him to reduce himſelf to; and therefore, bid them "proceed their own way; and that though they had all for- "ſaken him, God had not.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to them.

THE Parliament had now receiv'd the Anſwer they expected; and, forthwith, requir'd "The *Scots* to quit the King- "dom, and to deliver the Perſon of the King to ſuch Perſons "as they ſhould appoint to receive him; who ſhould attend upon his Majeſty from *New-Caſtle* to *Holmby*, a Houſe of his at a ſmall diſtance from *Northampton*, a Town and Country of very eminent diſaffection to the King throughout the War; and declar'd "That his Majeſty ſhould be treated, with "reſpect to the ſafety and preſervation of his Perſon, accord- "ing to the Covenant: And that after his coming to *Holmby*, "he ſhould be attended by ſuch as they ſhould appoint; and "that when the *Scots* were remov'd out of *England*, the Par- "liament would joyn with their Brethren of *Scotland* again "to perſwade the King to paſs the Propoſitions; which if he "refuſed to do, the Houſe would do nothing that might break "the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to "preſerve the ſame.

The Parliament require the Scots to quit the Kingdom, and to deliver up the Perſon of the King.

THE *Scots* now begun again to talk ſturdily, and deny'd "That the Parliament of *England* had power abſolutely to "diſpoſe of the Perſon of the King, without their approba- "tion; and the Parliament as loudly reply'd, "That they had "nothing to do in *England*, but to obſerve their Orders; and added ſuch Threats to their Reaſons, as might let them ſee they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact Obedience from them, if they refuſed to yield it. But theſe diſcourſes were only kept up till they could adjuſt all Accounts between them, and agree what Price they ſhould pay for the delivery of his Perſon, whom one ſide was reſolv'd to

The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

have, and the other as resolv'd not to keep; and so they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the *Scots* deliver'd the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

In this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of *January*, given up, by his *Scotish* Subjects, to those of his *English* who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it self to go to *New-Castle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was deliver'd.

The Committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King at New-Castle *in the end of* January.

They receiv'd him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the *Scots*, and with the same strictness restrain'd all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cause. Servants were particularly appointed and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Person, and Service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferr'd those who had faithfully adhered to them against their Master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their Affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismiss'd their Friends, the *Scots*, out of the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of their principles about the Person of the King, and to choose such a Guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majesty.

Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty.

Of the Committee imploy'd to govern and direct all, Major General *Brown* was one, who had a great Name and Interest in the City, and with all the Presbyterian Party, and had done great Service to the Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Essex*, and was a diligent and stout Commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was brought to his own House at *Holmby* in *Northampton-shire*; a place he had taken much delight in: And there he was to stay till the Parliament and the Army (for the Army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the Settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

The King is brought to Holmby.

In the mean time, the Committee paid all respects to his Majesty; and he enjoy'd those Exercises he most delighted in; and seem'd to have all liberty, but to confer with Persons he most desir'd, and to have such Servants about him as he could trust.

truſt. That which moſt diſpleaſed him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but order'd Preſbyterian Miniſters to attend for Divine Service; and his Majeſty, utterly refuſing to be preſent at their Devotions, was compell'd at thoſe hours to be his own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he conſtantly uſed the Common-Prayer by himſelf. His Majeſty bore this conſtraint ſo heavily that he writ a Letter to the Houſe of Peers, in which he incloſed a Liſt of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he deſir'd might have liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many days conſideration, they return'd this Anſwer; "That all thoſe Chaplains were diſaffected "to the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and had not "taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, "who, if his Majeſty pleas'd, ſhould be ſent to him. After this Anſwer, his Majeſty thought it to no purpoſe to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been beſt pleas'd to have been without any; they who were ſent by them, being Men of mean Parts, and of moſt impertinent and troubleſome Confidence and Importunity.

The King deſires certain of his Chaplains; is refuſed.

WHILST thoſe diſputes continued between the Parliament and the *Scots* concerning the King's Perſon, the Army proceeded with great Succeſs in reducing thoſe Garriſons which ſtill continued, in his Majeſty's Obedience; whereof though ſome Surrender'd more eaſily and with leſs reſiſtance than they might have made, ſatisfying themſelves with the King's general Order, that there was no reaſonable expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiſs, by an early Submiſſion, to obtain better Conditions for themſelves; yet others defended themſelves with notable Obſtinacy to the laſt, to the great damage of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from Uniting together; without which they could not purſue the great deſigns they had. And this was one of the reaſons that made the Treaty with the *Scots* depend ſo long, and that the Presbyterians continued their Authority and Credit ſo long; and We may obſerve again, that thoſe Garriſons which were maintain'd and defended with the greateſt Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtain'd as good and as honourable Conditions, as any of thoſe who Surrender'd upon the firſt Summons

Divers Garriſons Surrender'd to the Parliament.

THIS was the Caſe of *Ragland* and *Pendennis* Caſtles; which endured the longeſt Sieges, and held out the laſt of any Forts or Caſtles in *England*; being bravely defended by two Perſons of very great Age; but were at length deliver'd up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintain'd with extraordinary Reſolution and Courage, by the old

Marquis of *Worceſter* againſt *Fairfax* himſelf, till it was reduced to the utmoſt Neceſſity. *Pendennis* refuſed all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Proviſions were ſo far conſumed, that they had not Victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated and carried themſelves in the Treaty with ſuch Reſolution, and Unconcernedneſs, that the Enemy concluded they were in no ſtreights; and ſo gave them the Conditions they propos'd; which were as good as any Garriſon in *England* had accepted. This Caſtle was defended by the Governour thereof, *John Arundel* of *Trerice* in *Cornwal*, an old Gentleman of near fourſcore years of Age, and of one of the beſt Eſtates and Intereſt in that County; who, with the Aſſiſtance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a ſtout and diligent Officer; and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*, in memory of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintain'd, and defended the ſame to the laſt Extremity.

THERE remain'd with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the Country of great Loyalty, amongſt whom Sr *Harry Killigrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſolv'd to go to *Jerſey*; and, aſſoon as the Caſtle was Surrender'd, took the firſt opportunity of a Veſſel then in the Harbour of *Falmouth*, to Tranſport himſelf with ſome Officers and Soldiers to St *Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jerſey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Iſland to go to St *Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindneſs of Sr *George Carteret*, was preſently ſent, with a longing deſire to receive him into that Iſland; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Governour, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Veſſel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made haſte to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having dy'd at St *Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

AFTER the Treaty was ſign'd for delivering the Caſtle, he had walked out to diſcharge ſome Arms which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the ſhooting off, broke; and a ſplinter of it ſtruck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; ſo that his Friends could not perſwade him to ſtay there till the wound was cured; but the Blood being ſtopp'd and the Chirurgion having bound it up, he proſecuted his intended Voyage; and at his Landing at St *Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound

wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a Chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he dy'd, having desir'd that his dead Body might be sent to *Jersey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a Noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bridgewater*; where he behaved himself with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

SIR *Harry* was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly belov'd, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Essex* was chosen General, and the several Members of the House stood up, and declar'd, what Horse they would raise, and maintain, and that they would live and dye with the Earl their General, one saying he would raise ten Horses, and another twenty, He stood up and said, "He "would provide a good Horse, and a good Buff Coat, and a "good pair of Pistols, and then he doubted not but he should "find a good Cause; and so went out of the House, and rode Post into *Cornwal*, where his Estate and Interest lay; and there joyn'd with those Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who first receiv'd the Lord *Hopton*, and raised those Forces which did so many famous Actions in the West.

HE would never take any Command in the Army; but they who had, consulted with no Man more. He was in all Actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great Courage and a pleasantness of humour in Danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp Speaker, and cared not for angring those who deserv'd to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*, *Slannings*, *Trevanions*, and all the signal Men of that County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity; and his Credit and Interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the King; and to those, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tempers; for he thought all such prepared to Rebel, when a little Success should encourage them; and was many times to much offended with Men who wish'd well, and whose Constitutions and Complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his Nature and keenness of Spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good Men.

FROM

FROM the time that the King was brought to *Holmby*, and whilſt he ſtay'd there, he was afflicted with the ſame preſſures concerning the Church, which had diſquieted him at *New-Caſtle*; the Parliament not remitting any of their Inſolencies in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Preſbyterians, who were thought to exerciſe the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the leſſening their great Charge by disbanding ſome Troops of their Army, and ſending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt ſpeedily to Reduce; and declar'd, "That they would then disband all Armies, that "the Kingdom might be govern'd by the known Laws.

Differences ariſe between the Parliament and the Army.

THIS Temper in the Houſes raiſed another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Presbyterian Government that they ſaw ready to be ſettled in the Church, nor that the Parliament ſhould ſo abſolutely diſpoſe of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the ſole influence upon the Army, under-hand, made them Petition the Houſes againſt any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himſelf, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the Presbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Epiſcopacy; and the Common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themſelves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inſpired with the ſame Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; ſcarce any Man being ſuffer'd to be called in queſtion for delivering any opinion in Religion, by ſpeaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blaſphemous ſoever it was; "Which they ſaid, was to re-"ſtrain the Spirit.

Divers Sects increaſe in the Army.

LIBERTY of Conſcience was now the Common Argument and Quarrel, whilſt the Presbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterneſs againſt the ſeveral Sects as Enemies to all Godlineſs, as they had done, and ſtill continued to do, againſt the Prelatical Party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in the two Houſes, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have atrempted, if it had not pleaſed God to have taken away the Earl of *Eſſex* ſome Months before this; who dy'd without being ſenſible of ſickneſs, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the miſchief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities

The Earl of Eſſex dyed in Sept. this year.

dignities himself had receiv'd from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension, and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the City at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had liv'd, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevail'd. But God would not suffer a Man, who, out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the wickedness of his Heart, had been made an Instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: Though his Constitution, and Temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargick indisposition of which he dy'd, yet it was loudly said by many of his Friends, "That he was poyson'd.

SURE it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declar'd head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued General in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Person whose Credit and Interest they fear'd, without any esteem of his Person.

AND now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the Kingdom (as they call'd it) the Army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, and after they had purged their Army of all those inconvenient Officers, of whose entire Submission and Obedience to all their Dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal Officers of the Army, and others of their Friends, whose Principles they well knew, to be elected Members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expell'd by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himself, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, and many others of the Independents, Officers, and Gentlemen, of the several Counties, who were transported with new fancies in Religion, and were called by a new name *Fanaticks*, sate in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

BUT about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a number of such Officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to resemble the House of Peers; and the Common Soldiers made choice of three or four of each Regiment, most Corporals or Searjeants, few or none above the degree of an Ensign, who were call'd Agitators, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and considerd

Agitators, as well as a Council of Officers, appointed by the Army.

consider'd of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliament towards settling the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing or disbanding of the Army: and, upon mutual Messages and Conferences between each other, they resolv'd in the first place, and declar'd, "That they would not be divided, "or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and before "full Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience; which, "they said, was the ground of the Quarrel, and for which "so many of their Friends Lives had been lost, so much "of their own Blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there "was so little security provided in that point, that there was a "greater Persecution now against Religious and Godly Men, "than ever had been in the King's Government, when the "Bishops were their Judges.

The first Resolutions:

THEY said, "They did not look upon themselves as a Band "of *Janizaries*, hired and entertain'd only to Fight their Bat-"tles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for the "Liberty and defence of the Nation of which they were a "part; and before they laid down those Arms, they would "see all those ends well provided for, that the People might "not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had for-"merly suffer'd. They complain'd "That some Members of the "Army had been sent for by the Parliament, and committed "to Prison, which was against their Privilege; since all Sol-"diers ought to be tryed by a Council of War, and not by "any other Judicatory: and therefore they desired redress in "these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a Nature; "and that such as were Imprison'd, and in Custody, might be "forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think "themselves justly dealt with: And with this Declaration and Address, they sent three or four of their own Members to the House of Commons; who deliver'd it at the Bar with wonderful Confidence.

which they deliver'd to the Parliament.

THE Soldiers publish'd a vindication, as they call'd it, of their Proceedings and Resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complain'd of a design to disband, and new model the Army; "Which, they said, was a Plot "contriv'd by some Men who had lately tasted of Soveraign-"ty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere of Ser-"vants, endeavour'd to become Masters, and were degene-"rated into Tyrants. They therefore declared, "That they "would neither be imploy'd for the Service of *Ireland*, nor "suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were "granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects should "be vindicated, and maintain'd. This Apology, or Vindi-cation, being sign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliament declar'd them to be Enemies to the State; and caused some of

of them, who talked loudeſt, to be impriſon'd. Upon which a new Addreſs was made to their General; wherein they complain'd "How diſdainfully they were uſed by the Parliament, "for whom they had ventured their lives, and loſt their "Blood: that the Privileges which were due to them as Soldiers, and as Subjects, were taken from them; and when "they complain'd of the Injuries they receiv'd, they were "abus'd, beaten, and dragg'd into Goals. *And to their General.*

HEREUPON, the General was prevailed with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who ſhew'd it the Houſe; in which he took notice of ſeveral Petitions, which were prepared in the City of *London*, and ſome other Counties of the Kingdom, againſt the Army; and "That it was look'd "upon as very ſtrange, that the Officers of the Army might "not be permitted to petition, when ſo many Petitions were "receiv'd againſt them; and that he much doubted that the "Army might draw to a Rendezvous, and think of ſome other "way for their own vindication.

THIS manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but eſpecially the General ſeeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they reſolv'd not to ſuffer their Counſels to be cenſured, or their Actions controuled, by thoſe who were retained by them, and who liv'd upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, they declar'd "That whoſoever ſhould "refuſe, being commanded, to engage himſelf in the Service "of *Ireland*, ſhould be disbanded. The Army was reſolv'd not to be ſubdued in their firſt ſo declared Reſolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and call'd for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themſelves; nor could they be in any degree appeas'd, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made againſt them, was raſed out of the Journal Book of both Houſes, and a Months pay ſent to them; nor were they ſatisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "That they knew "how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the Parliament, "and where to have their Service better valued, and rewarded; which ſo frighted thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, whereof ſome were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee choſen of the Officers of the Army, upon the beſt expedients that might be applied to the compoſing theſe diſtempers. Now the Army thought it ſelf upon a Level with the Parliament, when they had a Committee of the one authoriſed to treat with a Committee of the other; which likewiſe raiſed the Spirits of *Faifax*, who had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament; and diſpoſed him *The Parliament's Declaration thereupon.* *Afterward raſed out of their Books.* *A Committee appointed by the two Houſes to treat with a Committee of the Army.*

to

to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the Army, when he saw it was so much complyed with and submitted to by all Men.

Cromwells behaviour at first in these Mutinies.

CROMWELL, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which sure he was a very great Master) that he seem'd exceedingly incensed against this Insolence of the Soldiers; was still in the House of Commons when any such Addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the Commitment, of some of the Officers. He proposed, "That the General might "be sent down to the Army; who, he said, "Would conjure "down this mutinous Spirit quickly; and he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the Army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily "Of "the great License that was got into the Army; that, for "his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those "who desired that the Nation should be again imbrew'd in "Blood, he was render'd so odious unto them, that they had "a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, "he had not escaped out of their hands. And in these, and the like Discourses, when he spake of the Nation's being to be involv'd in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the world with the sense of the Calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discover'd his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisie could not longer be concealed. The most active Officers and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolv'd by the principal Persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once sever'd his Person from the Army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General *Fairfax*, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgment; and that *Cromwell* had the ascendent over him purely by his Dissimulation, and pretence of Conscience and Sincerity. There is no doubt *Fairfax*, did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

THIS purpose of seising upon the Person of *Cromwell* could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the Army, and that his life would be in danger

if

if he were with it, when the Houſe expected every minute his preſence, they were inform'd that he was met out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way to the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of ſome Regiments of the Horſe, and from whence he writ a Letter to the Houſe of Commons, "That having the night before "receiv'd a Letter from ſome Officers of his own Regiment, "that the jealouſy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his "want of kindneſs towards them, was much abated, ſo that "they believ'd, if he would be quickly preſent with them, "they would all in a ſhort time by his advice be reclaim'd, "upon this he had made all the haſte he could; and did find "that the Soldiers had been abuſed by miſinformation; and "that he hoped to diſcover the Fountain from whence it "Sprung; and in the mean time deſired that the General, and "the other Officers in the Houſe, and ſuch as remain'd about "the Town, might be preſently ſent to their Quarters; and "that he believ'd it would be very neceſſary in order to the "ſuppreſſion of the late diſtempers, and for the prevention of "the like for the time to come, that there might be a gene-"ral Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General would "beſt conſider, when he came down; which he wiſhed might "be haſten'd. It was now to no purpoſe to diſcover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealouſy of a Perſon who was out of their reach; and ſo they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and went to their Quarters.

THE ſame Morning that *Cromwell* left *London*, Cornet *Joyce*, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, a fellow who had two or three years before ſerv'd in a very Inferior imployment in Mr *Hollis*'s Houſe, came with a Squadron of fifty Horſe to *Holmby*, where the King was, about the break of day; and without any interruption by the Guard of Horſe or Foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knock'd at the King's Chamber door, and ſaid "He muſt preſently ſpeak with the King. His Majeſty, ſurpriſed with the manner of it, roſe out of his bed; and, half dreſs'd, cauſed the door to be open'd, which he knew otherwiſe would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the Chamber being Perſons of whom he had little knowledge, and leſs confidence. Aſſoon as the door was open'd, *Joyce*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Piſtols in their hands. *Joyce* told the King, "That he muſt go with him. His Majeſty asked, "Whither? he anſwer'd, "To the Army. The King asked him, "Where "the Army was? he ſaid, "They would carry him to the "Place where it was. His Majeſty asked, "By what Au-"thority

Cornet Joyce *ſeiſed upon the King at* Holmby, June 3. 1647.

"thority they came? *Joyce* anſwer'd, "By this; and ſhew'd him his Piſtol; and deſir'd his Majeſty, "That he would cauſe "himſelf to be dreſs'd, becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould "make haſte. None of the other Soldiers ſpoke a word; and *Joyce*, ſaving the bluntneſs, and poſitiveneſs of the few words he ſpoke, behaved himſelf not rudely. The King ſaid, "He "could not ſtir before he ſpoke with the Committee to "whom he had been deliver'd, and who were truſted by the "Parliament; and ſo appointed one of thoſe who waited upon him to call them. The Committee had been as much ſurpriſed with the noiſe as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "Whether he had any "Orders from the Parliament? he ſaid, *No*. "From the General? *No*. What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Anſwer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Piſtol. They ſaid, "They would write to the "Parliament to know their pleaſure; *Joyce* ſaid, "They might "do ſo, but the King muſt preſently go with him. Colonel *Brown* had ſent for ſome of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he ſpoke then with the Officer who Commanded thoſe who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that that they would make no reſiſtance: ſo that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cauſe to believe that he was reſolv'd not to have gone, which had been to no purpoſe, and after he had broken his Faſt, he went into his Coach, attended by the few Servants who were put about him, and went whither Cornet *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Miles of *Holmby* at that time; and that which adminiſter'd moſt cauſe of apprehenſion, was, that thoſe Officers who were of the Guard, declar'd "That the Squadron which was Com- "manded by *Joyce*, conſiſted not of Soldiers of any one Re- "giment, but were Men of ſeveral Troops, and ſeveral Regi- "ments, drawn together under him, who was not the pro- "per Officer; ſo that the King did in truth believe, that their purpoſe was to carry him to ſome place where they might more conveniently murder him. The Committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had paſſed, with all the circumſtances; and it was receiv'd with all imaginable conſternation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpoſe and reſolution was.

The Committee give notice of it.

The General's Account of it to the Parliament.

NOR were they at the more eaſe, or in any degree pleaſed with the Account they receiv'd from the General himſelf; who by his Letter, inform'd them; "That the Soldiers at "*Holmby* had brought the King from thence; and that his "Majeſty lay the next Night at Colonel *Montague*'s Houſe, "and

"and would be the next day at *New-Market*: that the Ground "thereof was from an Apprehenſion of ſome ſtrength ga- "ther'd to force the King from thence; whereupon he had "ſent Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment to meet the King. He pro- teſted, "That his remove was without his conſent, or of the "Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and with- "out their deſire, or privity: that he would take care for the "ſecurity of his Majeſty's Perſon from danger; and aſſured the Parliament, "That the whole Army endeavour'd Peace, "and were far from oppoſing Presbytery, or affecting In- "dependency, or from any purpoſe to maintain a Licentious "freedom in Religion, or the Intereſt of any particular Party, "but were reſolv'd to leave the abſolute determination of all "to the Parliament.

IT was upon the Third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holmby* by Cornet *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had deliver'd himſelf to the *Scots* at *Newark*; in all which time, the Army had been at leiſure to contrive all ways to free it ſelf from the Servitude of the Parliament, whilſt the Presbyterians believ'd, that in ſpight of a few factious Inde- pendent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove diſobedient to their Commands; and thoſe few wiſe Men, who diſcern'd the foul deſigns of thoſe Officers, and by what degrees they ſtole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believ'd by their own Party. The joynt confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purpoſes, made them deſpiſe all oppoſition; but now, when they ſaw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with theſe circumſtances; they found all their Meaſures broke by which they had form'd all their Counſels. And as this Letter from the General ad- miniſter'd too much cauſe of Jealouſy of what was to ſucceed, ſo a poſitive information about the ſame time by many Of- ficers, confirm'd by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *Lon- don* had receiv'd, that the whole Army was upon it's march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, ſo diſtracted them that they appear'd beſides themſelves: however, they Voted, "That the Houſes ſhould ſit all the next day, being "*Sunday*; and that Mr *Marſhall* ſhould be there to pray for "them: That the Committee of Safety ſhould ſit up all that "Night to conſider what was to be done: That the Lines of "Communication ſhould be ſtrongly Guarded, and all the "Train'd-bands of *London* ſhould be drawn together upon "pain of death. All Shops were ſhut up, and ſuch a general Confuſion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, deſiring him, "That no part of

Diſtractions at Weſt- minſter *upon notice of the Army's coming to- wards* Lon- don.

"the Army might come within five and twenty Miles of "*London*; and that the King's Person might be deliver'd to "the former Commissioners, who had attended upon his Ma- "jesty at *Holmby*; and that Colonel *Rossiter*, and his Re- "giment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Person. The General return'd for Answer, "That the Army was come "to St *Albans* before the desire of the Parliament came to his "hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would "advance no farther; and desir'd that a Month's pay might "presently be sent for the Army. In which they deferr'd not to gratify them; though as to the delivery of the King to the former Commissioners, no other Answer was return'd, than "That they might rest assured, that all care should be "taken for his Majesty's security.

The King brought to New-Market; where He was allow'd his Chaplains by the Army.

FROM that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appear'd in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their expostulations with the Parliament, begun to be more brisk, and contumacious than they had been. The King found himself at *New-Market* attended by greater Troops and superior Officers; so that he was presently freed from any Subjection to Mr *Joyce*; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appear'd Men of better Breeding than the former, and paid his Majesty all the respect imaginable, and seem'd to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from Persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the Faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his Devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr *Sheldon*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Sanderson*, and Dr *Hammond*) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and perform'd their Function at the ordinary hours, in their accustom'd Formalities; all persons who had a mind to it, being suffer'd to be present, to his Majesty's infinite satisfaction; who begun to believe that the Army was not so much his Enemy as it was reported to be: and the Army had sent an Address to him full of protestation of Duty, and besought him "That he would be content, for some time, to "reside among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were "put into such a Posture as he might find all things to his "own content, and security; which they infinitely desir'd to "see assoon as might be; and to that purpose made daily in-

His Majesty removes according to the marches of the Army.

"stances to the Parliament. In the mean time his Majesty "sate still, or remov'd to such places as were most convenient for the march of the Army; being in all places as well provided for, and accommodated, as he had used to be in any Progress, the best Gentlemen of the several Counties through which

which he paſſed, daily reſorted to him, without diſtinction; he was attended by ſome of his old Truſty Servants in the places neareſt his Perſon; and that which gave him moſt encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the Army's Addreſs to the Parliament, they deſir'd "That care "might be taken for ſettling the King's Rights, according to "the ſeveral Profeſſions they had made in their Declarations; "and that the Royal Party might be treated with more Can- "dour, and leſs Rigour; and many good Officers who had ſerv'd his Majeſty faithfully, were Civilly receiv'd by the Officers of the Army, and liv'd quietly in their Quarters; which they could not do any where elſe; which raiſed a great Reputation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as much Reproach upon the Parliament.

THE Parliament at this time had recover'd its Spirit, when they ſaw the Army did not march nearer towards them, and not only ſtopp'd at St *Albans*, but was drawn back to a farther diſtance; which perſwaded them, that their General was diſpleaſed with the former advance: and ſo they proceeded with all paſſion, and vigour, againſt thoſe principal Officers, who, they knew, contrived all theſe Proceedings. They publiſhed Declarations to the Kingdom, "That they deſired to bring the "King in honour to his Parliament; which was their buſi- "neſs from their beginning, and that he was detain'd Priſoner "againſt his Will in the Army; and that they had great rea- "ſon to apprehend the ſafety of his Perſon. The Army, on the other hand, declared "That his Majeſty was neither "Priſoner, nor detain'd againſt his Will; and appeal'd to "his Majeſty himſelf, and to all his Friends, who had liberty "to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was "not treated with more reſpect, ſince he came into the Army "then he had been at *Holmby*, or during the time he remain'd "in thoſe places, and with that retinue that the Parliament "had appointed? The City ſeem'd very unanimouſly devoted to the Parliament, and incenſed againſt the Army, and ſeem'd reſolute, not only with their train'd-bands and Auxiliary Regiments to aſſiſt, and defend the Parliament, but appointed ſome of the old Officers who had ſerv'd under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and others, to liſt new Forces; towards which there was not like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and ſuch of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear ſo much, as that the Army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was ſo much ſhew; and many unskilful Men, who wiſhed it, bragg'd too much; and therefore the Parliament ſent a Committee to his Majeſty, with an

Tranſactions in the City upon thoſe occaſions.

Addreſs of another Style than they had lately uſed, with many profeſſions of Duty; and declaring, "That if he was not, in "all reſpects, treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it "was not Their fault, who deſired he might be at full Liberty, "and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to deſire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holmby*; by which they believ'd the King's Party would be diſabuſed, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army; and then, they thought, they ſhould be hard enough for them.

THE King was in great doubt how to carry himſelf; he thought himſelf ſo barbarouſly uſed by the Presbyterians, and had ſo ill an opinion of all the principal Perſons who govern'd them, that he had no mind to put himſelf into their hands. On the other ſide, he was far from being ſatisfied with the Army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his Friends were ſuffer'd to reſort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the Officers and Soldiers appear'd, for the moſt part, civil to him, they were all at leaſt as vigilant, as the former Guards had been; ſo that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had deſir'd it. *Fairfax* had been with him, and kiſs'd his hand, and made ſuch Profeſſions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his Authority was of no uſe, becauſe he reſign'd himſelf entirely to *Cromwell*; who had been, and *Ireton* likewiſe, with the King, without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; otherwiſe, they behaved themſelves with good manners towards him. His Majeſty uſed all the Addreſs he could towards them to draw ſome promiſe from them, but they were ſo reſerv'd, and ſtood ſo much upon their Guard, and uſed ſo few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they ſaid: they excuſed themſelves "For not ſeeing his Majeſty often, upon "the great jealouſies the Parliament had of them, towards "whom they profeſs'd all fidelity. The Perſons who reſorted to his Majeſty, and brought Advices from others who durſt not yet offer to come themſelves, brought ſeveral opinions to him; ſome thinking the Army would deal ſincerely with his Majeſty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards perform'd: ſo that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament Addreſſes by any neglect, nor diſoblige the Army by appearing to have jealouſy of them, or deſire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have reſorted to. So he deſired both Parties "To haſten their Conſulta- "tions, that the Kingdom might enjoy Peace and Happineſs; "in which he ſhould not be without a ſhare; and he would

"pray,

"pray to God to bring this to pass assoon as was possible.

THE News of the King's being in the Army, of his freedom in the exercise of his Religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his Servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the *Scots*. Sr *John Berkley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the spending his six Months allow'd by the Articles to sollicite his Affairs where he would, had Transported himself into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being still a Menial Servant to her Majesty, and having a Friend in that Court that govern'd, and lov'd him better than any body else did. Assoon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Discourses he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, "Upon how slippery ground 'they stood; that the Parliament, when they had serv'd their 'turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them 'very small rewards for the great Service they had done for 'them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a 'safe retreat which could be no where but under the Protec'tion of the King; who by their Courage was brought very 'low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to 'them; and his Posterity, as well as himself, and all his Par'ty, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would 'raise their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greatest 'degree Men could aim at; which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that Officer, whom he named, that they told him at parting, that they "Should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observ'd that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it. In a word, "He had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have Credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great Service; and offer'd without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believ'd all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that lov'd him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without some prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all possible haste into *England*. *John Ashburnham*, who was driven from the King by the *Scots* after he had Conducted his Majesty to them, had Transported himself into *France*, and was at this time residing

Sir John Berkley sent from the Queen to the King.

in *Roan*; having found, upon his Addreſs to the Queen at *Paris* upon his firſt Arrival, that his abode in ſome other place would not be ungrateful to her Majeſty, and ſo he removed to *Roan*; where he had the ſociety of many who had ſerv'd the King in the moſt eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the ſame reſtraint that had been formerly, he reſolv'd to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reaſon to doubt but that his Preſence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the leaſt Communication with each other, being in truth of ſeveral Parties and Purpoſes, yet they Arriv'd there, and at the Army, near the ſame time.

Mr Aſhburnham comes from France to the King.

BERKLEY firſt applied himſelf to thoſe ſubordinate Officers with whom he had ſome acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application they were well pleaſed that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his Foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep deſign from his contrivance; and ſo they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whoſe Perſon he had no Title or Relation, which requir'd any conſtant waiting upon him.

Sir John Berkley *and Mr* Aſhburnham's *Tranſactions with ſome Officers of the Army.*

ASHBURNHAM had, by ſome Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the Credit he had with the King, and that his Majeſty would be very well pleaſed to have his attendance, and look upon it as a Teſtimony of their reſpect to him. They knew likewiſe that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had ſome ordinary craft in inſinuating, he was of no deep and piercing Judgment to diſcover what was not unwarily expoſed, and a free Speaker of what he imagin'd: So they likewiſe left him at liberty to repair to the King; and theſe two Gentlemen came near about the ſame time to his Majeſty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpoſe, which was not yet publiſh'd, of marching to *London*; his Majeſty being ſtill Quarter'd in thoſe places which were more proper for that purpoſe.

THEY were both welcome to his Majeſty, the one bringing a ſpecial recommendation from the Queen, and to make himſelf the more valuable, aſſuring his Majeſty "That he was "ſent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would "truſt, and that they had receiv'd him with open Arms; and, "without any ſcruple, gave him leave to wait upom him: The other needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations diſpoſing him to be very gracious to him; and ſo his Majeſty willi'd them "To correſpond with each other, and

"to

"to converſe with his ſeveral Friends, who did not yet think "fit to reſort to him; and to receive their advice; to diſcover "as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and "impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther diſco-"very, his Majeſty might better judge what to do. Theſe two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his Majeſty's Friends, and as often as they deſir'd, with the Officers of the Army) upon whoſe Information, and Advice, his Majeſty principally depended, though they rarely conferr'd together with the ſame Perſons, and never with any of the Officers, who pretended not to truſt one another enough to ſpeak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the Officers not being principally with the ſame Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed than inform'd his Majeſty.

The different deſigns of the Parliament and Army at this time relating to the King.

THE very high Conteſts between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither ſide could be perſwaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their aſperity, made many Prudent Men believe that both ſides would, in the end, be willlng to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through ſo great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their Obedience, could not be overpower'd by their own Army, raiſed and paid by themſelves, and to whoſe Dictates the People would never ſubmit. They thought the King's Preſence amongſt them, gave them all their preſent Reputation; and were not without apprehenſion that the Ambition of ſome of the Officers, and their Malice to the Parliament, when they ſaw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might diſpoſe them to an entire Conjunction with the King's Party and Intereſt; and then, all the Penalties of Treaſon, Rebellion, and Treſpaſſes, muſt be diſcharged at their coſts; and therefore they labour'd by all the publick and private means they could, to perſwade the King to own his being detain'd Priſoner by the Army againſt his Will, or to withdraw himſelf by ſome way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of thoſe Caſes, they did not doubt, firſt, to divide the Army (for they ſtill believ'd the General faſt to them) and by degrees to bring them to reaſon, and to be disbanded, as many as were not neceſſary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themſelves, and all his Party being obnoxious to thoſe penalties for their Delinquency, they ſhould be well able, by gratifying ſome of the greateſt Perſons of the Nobility with Immunity and Indemnity, to ſettle the Government in ſuch a manner, as to be well recom-

penſed for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been ſo far proſtituted, that it had loſt moſt of its Reverence with the People. But it had great apprehenſion, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover Credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make ſome diviſion amongſt them; and if the Perſon of the King ſhould be likewiſe with them, and thereby his Party ſhould likewiſe joyn with them, they ſhould be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with thoſe who were as much provoked by them as the King himſelf had been. And therefore they were ſenſible that they enjoy'd a preſent benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward reſpect that was due to his Majeſty, and the civilities they made profeſſion of towards all his Party, and the permiſſion of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to reſort to him; and cultivated all theſe Artifices with great Addreſs, ſuppreſſing, or diſcountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country Committees, and all other places, where they exerciſed notable rigour againſt all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuſe for being of no Party) when they found it fit to make any luſty Declaration againſt the Parliament, and exclaim againſt their Tyrannical proceedings againſt the Army, they always inſerted ſomewhat that might look like Candour and Tenderneſs towards the King's Party, complain'd of "The "Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parlia- "ment's not obſerving the Articles which had been made "upon Surrender of Garriſons, but proceeding againſt thoſe "on whoſe behalf thoſe Articles were made, with more ſeve- "rity than was agreeable to Juſtice, and to the intention of "the Articles; whereby the Honour and Faith of the Army "ſuffer'd, and was complain'd of; all which, they ſaid, they "would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they ſhould be excuſed from making any Compoſitions, and entertain'd ſuch other imaginations as pleaſed themſelves, and the other Party well liked; knowing they could demoliſh all thoſe Structures aſſoon as they receiv'd no benefit by themſelves.

The King had, during the time he ſtay'd at *Holmby*, writ to the Houſe of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reſide for ſome time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrender'd, upon which the Duke of *York* had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he ſhould have liberty to go to ſuch

place

place as the King ſhould direct, which was very earneſtly preſſed, and inſiſted on by the Lords of the Council, there as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all reſpect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I ſay, the Duke of *York* was committed to the care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Princeſs, who had been by the King left under the Tuition of the Counteſs of *Dorſet*, but from the death of that Counteſs the Parliament had preſumed, that they might be ſure to keep them in their Power, to put them into the cuſtody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent Allowance aſſign'd for their ſupport. They were now remov'd from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who receiv'd, and treated them, in all reſpects, as was ſuitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Inſtructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had abſolutely refuſed to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majeſty no ſooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "That the "King much deſir'd to have the ſight and company of his "Children; and that if they might not be allow'd to be longer "with him, that at leaſt they might dine with him; and he ſent them word that, on ſuch a day, "The King, who attend-"ed the motion of the Army, and was Quarter'd only where "they pleaſed, would dine at *Maidenhead*. There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and ſtay ſome time at *Caverſham*, a Houſe of the Lord *Craven*'s near *Reading*, his Children were likewiſe ſuffer'd to go thither, and remain'd with him two days; which was the greateſt ſatisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving wereof, he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good diſpoſition of the Army; which made ſo much the more impreſſion upon him, in that he had never made any one Propoſition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

The King allow'd to ſee his Children at Maiden-head *and* Caverſham.

In the Houſe of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that diſpleaſed and incenſed the Army (for the Houſe of Peers was ſhrunk into ſo inconſiderable a Number, and their Perſons not conſiderable after the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, except thoſe who were affected to, or might be diſpoſed by the Army) they were wholly guided by *Hollis*, and *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very Popular and Notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Maſſey*, and *Brown*, who had Serv'd in Commands in the Army, and perform'd at ſome times very ſignal Service, and were exceed-

ingly

ingly belov'd in the City, and two or three others who fol low'd their Dictates, and were subservient to their Directions These were all Men of Parts, Interest, and signal Courage and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which the discern'd the Army to have, and that it was wholly to b disposed according to the designs of *Cromwell*, but had like wise declared Animosities against the Persons of the mo active and powerful Officers; as *Hollis* had one day, upo a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expression which fell from *Ireton*, perswaded him to walk out of th House with him, and then told him, "That he should pre "sently go over the Water and Fight with him. *Ireton* reply ing, "His Conscience would not suffer him to fight a Duel *Hollis*, in choler, pulled him by the Nose; telling him, "I "his Conscience would keep him from giving Men satisfa "ction, it should keep him from provoking them. This a front to the third Person of the Army, and to a Man of th most Virulent, Malicious, and Revengeful Nature of all th Pack, so incensed the whole Party, that they were resolv' one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in th House, and that Reputation abroad, that when he could no absolutely controle their designs, he did so obstruct them, tha they could not advance to any conclusion.

THEY resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they hac observ'd, by the Conduct of those very Men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they de sired; and in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeach ment of High Treason in general Terms against Mr *Hollis* and the Persons mention'd before, and others, to the numbe of eleven Members of the House of Commons. This impeach ment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant Co lonels, Majors, and Captains, presented to the House; anc within few days after, when they saw the same Members stil inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the Genera and Officers writ a Letter to the House, "That they would "appoint fit Persons on their and the Kingdom's behalf, to "make good the charge against those Members whom they "had accused; and that they desir'd, that those Members im- "peach'd might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the "House, since it could not be thought fit that the same Per- "sons who had so much injured and provoked the Army, "should sit Judges of their own Actions. This was an Arrow that the House of Commons did not expect would have been shot out of that Quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismay'd, and distracted with this presumption, they answer'd positively, "That they neither would, nor could, sequester "those Members from the House, who had never said, or "done

The Army impeach eleven Members of the House of Commons.

"done any thing in the Houſe worthy of Cenſure, till proof "were made of ſuch particulars as might render them guilty. But the Officers of the Army reply'd, "That they could prove "them guilty of ſuch practices in the Houſe, that it would "be juſt in the Houſe to ſuſpend them: that by the Laws of "the Land, and the Precedents of Parliament, the Lords had "upon the very preſentation of a general Accuſation without "being reduced in form, ſequeſter'd from their Houſe and "committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Biſhop of "*Canterbury*; and therefore they muſt preſs, and inſiſt upon "the ſuſpending at leaſt of thoſe accuſed Members from be-"ing preſent in the Houſe, where they ſtood impeach'd; and "without this, they ſaid, the Army would not be ſatisfied. However the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd ſtill reſolute, the accuſed Members themſelves, who beſt knew their temper, thought it ſafer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the Houſe, to allay the heat of the preſent Conteſt.

UPON this ſo palpable Declenſion of Spirit in the Houſe, the Army ſeem'd much quieter, and reſolv'd to ſet other Agents on their work, that they might not appear too buſy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the City, upon whoſe influence the Parliament much depended, appear'd now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, conſiſted chiefly of Men of that Spirit; the Militia of the City was committed to Commiſſioners carefully and factiouſly choſen of that Party; all thoſe of another temper having been put out of thoſe Truſts, at or about the time that the King was deliver'd up by the *Scots*, when the Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians ſhould believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in them; and that they might ſettle what Government they pleas'd: if there remain'd any Perſons in any of thoſe imployments in the City, it was by their diſſimulation, and pretending to have other Affections; moſt of thoſe who were notorious to be of any other Faction in Religion, had been put out; and liv'd as neglected and diſcountenanced Men; who ſeem'd rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exerciſe of that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any ſhare, or part in the Government: yet, after all this diſſimulation, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were at their diſpoſal, and would appear in any conjuncture they ſhould think convenient; and that many Aldermen and ſubſtantial Citizens were quiet, and appear'd not to contradict or oppoſe the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they ſaw thoſe leading

The temper of the City and the Changes of their Militia at this time.

leading Men, who had govern'd the Parliament, profecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the Houſe there flock'd together great Numbers of the loweſt, and moſt inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of ſeveral Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noiſe and clamour whereof, the Parliament was ſo offended and diſturbed, that they made an Ordinance, "That it ſhould be Criminal to gather, and ſolicit the Subſcriptions of hands to Petitions. But this Order ſo offended all parties, that they were compell'd, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilſt this Confuſion was in the City and Parliament, the Commiſſioners, which had been ſent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better ſucceſs; but return'd with the poſitive and declared Reſolution of the Army, "That "a Declaration ſhould be publiſh'd by the Parliament againſt "the coming in of Forreign Force: for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the People ſhould apprehend, a new Combination by the *Scots*: "That the pay of the Army ſhould "be put into a conſtant Courſe, and all Perſons who had re- "ceiv'd Money, ſhould be called to an account: That the Mi- "litia of *London* ſhoud be put into the hands of Perſons well "affected, and thoſe who had been formerly truſted: that all "Perſons impriſon'd for pretended Miſdemeanours, by Order "of Parliament, or their Committees, might be ſet at Li- "berty; and, if upon trial they ſhould be found Innocent, "that they might have good Reparation. And they particularly mention'd *John Lilburn*, *Overton*, and other Anabaptiſts and Fanaticks, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, under pretence of Exerciſe of their Religion, and many inſolent Actions againſt the Government. Upon the report of theſe demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and Voted, "That the yielding to "the Army in theſe particulars, would be againſt their Ho- "nour, and their Intereſt, and deſtructive to their Privileges; with many expreſſions againſt their preſumption, and inſolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded, with loud Cries, moſt of the ſame things, they were willing to compound with them; and conſented, that the Militia of the City of *London* ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the Army ſhould deſire.

THE Militia of the City had been in the beginning of *May*, ſhortly after the King's being brought to *Holmby*, ſettled with the conſent, and upon the deſire, of the Common Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commiſſioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party, they who were of other inclinations being remov'd; and, as

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is ſaid before, ſeem'd not diſpleaſed at their diſgrace; and now, when upon the Declaration and Demands of the Army, ſeconded by clamorous Petitions, they ſaw this Ordinance reverſed, in *July*, without ſo much as conſulting with the Common Council according to cuſtom, the City was exceedingly ſtartled; and ſaid, "That if the Imperious Com-"mand of the Army, could prevail with the Parliament to "reverſe ſuch an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they had "reaſon to apprehend they might as well repeal the other Or-"dinance for the ſecurity of Money, or for the purchaſe of "Biſhops and Church Lands, or whatſoever elſe that was the "proper ſecurity of the Subject. And therefore they cauſed a Petition to be prepared in the name of the City, to be preſented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpoſe. But, before they were ready, many thouſands, Apprentices and young Citizens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which they ſaid, "That the "Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right of "the City, and belonged to them by ſeveral Charters which "had been confirm'd in Parliament; for defence whereof, they "ſaid they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as "the Army had done; and therefore, they deſir'd that the "Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of *May*, which had "paſſed with their conſent, might ſtand inviolable. They firſt preſented their Petition to the Houſe of Peers, who immediately revoked their late Ordinance of *July*, and confirm'd their former of *May*; and ſent it down to the Commons for their conſent; who durſt not deny their concurrence, the Apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce ſuffer the door of the Houſe of Commons to be ſhut; and ſome of them went into the Houſe.

A tumultuous Petition of Apprentices, and others, to both Houſes concerning their Militia.

And in this manner the Ordinance was reverſed that had been made at the deſire of the Army, and the other of *May*, ratified and confirm'd; which was no ſooner done than the Parliament adjourn'd till *Friday*, that they might have two or three days to conſider how they ſhould behave themſelves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had quickly notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*; in which he put them in mind, "How civilly the Army had "complied with their deſire, by removing to a greater di-"ſtance, upon preſumption that their own Authority would "have been able to have ſecured them from any rudeneſs, "and violence of the People; which it was now evident it "could not do, by the unparallell'd violation of all their Privi-"leges, on the *Monday* before, by a Multitude from the City, "which had been encouraged by ſeveral Common Council

Upon this the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament.

"Men

"Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Ac
"ſo prodigious and horrid as muſt diſſolve all Governmen
"if not ſeverely and exemplarily chaſtiſed: that the Arm
"looked upon themſelves as accountable to the Kingdom,
"this unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and Settlemer
"of the Nation, and the relief of *Ireland*, had been ſo note
"rioufly interrupted, ſhould not be ſtrictly examined, an
"juſtice ſpeedily done upon the Offenders. Upon *Friday*, t
which both Houſes had adjourn'd, the Members came toge
ther, in as full Numbers as they had uſed to meet, there be
ing above one hundred and forty of the Houſe of Commons
but, after they had ſate ſome time in expectation of thei
Speaker, they were inform'd that he was gone out of th
Town early that Morning; and they obſerv'd that Sr *Henr*
Vane, and ſome few other Members who uſed to concur wit
him, were likewiſe abſent. The Houſe of Peers found like
wiſe that the Earl of *Mancheſter*, their Speaker, had withdraw
himſelf, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſom
other Lords; but the Major part ſtill remain'd there, full c
Indignation againſt thoſe who were abſent, and who they a
concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houſe
choſe new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Com
mons preſently voted, "That the eleven Members who ſtoo
"impeach'd by the Army, and had diſcontinued coming t
"the Houſe, ſhould preſently appear, and take their places
They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Com
mittee of ſafety was appointed to joyn with the City Militia
and had Authority to raiſe Men for the defence of the Parlia
ment; which they appear'd ſo vigorouſly reſolv'd on, that n
Man in the Houſes, or in the City, ſeem'd to intend any thin
elſe. The News of this rouſed up the Army, and the Ge
neral preſently ſent a good Party of Horſe into *Windſor*, an
marched himſelf to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Ren
dezvous for the whole Army upon *Hounſlow* Heath, within
two days; when and where there appear'd twenty thouſan
Foot and Horſe, with a Train of Artillery, and all othe
proviſions proportionable to ſuch an Army.

The two Speakers, with other Members of the two Houſes, with drew to the Army.

Both Houſes choſe new Speakers; and their Votes.

Rendezvous of the Army appointed on Hounſlow *Heath, and the King removed to* Hampton *Court.*

As ſoon as the Rendezvous was appointed at *Hounſlow* Heath, at the ſame time the King removed to *Hampton* Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order fo
his reception, as could have been done in the beſt time. The
Houſe ſeem'd for ſome time to retain their Spirit and Vigour
and the City talked of lifting Men, and defending themſelves
and not ſuffering the Army to approach nearer to them; but
when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, thoſe in both
Houſes who had been too weak to carry any thing, and ſo had
look'd on whilſt ſuch Votes were paſſed as they liked not and
could

could not oppoſe, now when their Friend the Army was ſo near, recover'd their Spirits, and talked very loud; and perſwaded the reſt, "To think in time of making their peace "with the Army, that could not be withſtood. And the City grew every day more appalled, irreſolute, and confounded, one Man propoſing this, and another ſomewhat contrary to that, like Men amazed and diſtracted. When the Army met upon *Hounſlow* Heath at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houſes, who had privately before met with the Chief Officers of the Army, appear'd there with their Maces, and ſuch other Members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "That they had not freedom at *Weſtminſter*, but "were in danger of their lives by the Tumults; and appealed to the Army for their protection.

Both Speakers, and the other Members, appear in the Army on Hounſlow Heath.

THIS looked like a new Act of Providence to vindicate the Army from all reproaches, and to juſtify them in all they had done, as abſolutely done for the preſervation of the Parliament and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sr *Harry Vane* and ſome other diſcontented Men, who were known to be Independents, and Fanaticks in their opinions in Religion, and of the Army-faction, who being no longer able to oppoſe the wiſdom of the Parliament, had fled to their Friends for protection from Juſtice, they would have got no reputation, nor the Army been thought the better of for their Company; but neither of the Speakers were ever look'd upon as inclined to the Army; *Lenthall* was generally believ'd to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable againſt *Cromwell*; and had formerly accuſed him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all Men, and deſired to have taken away his Life. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian Party; and that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſome other of the Lords, and ſome of the Commons, who had appear'd to diſapprove all the proceedings of the Army, ſhould now joyn with Sr *Harry Vane*, and Appeal to the Army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the City, appear'd to every ſtander by ſo ſtupendous a thing, that it is not to this day underſtood otherwiſe, than that they were reſolv'd to have their particular ſhares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Chief Officers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the Army, nor had any kindneſs to, or confidence

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in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriag and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had co tinued together, considering how much the City was devote to them, it is probable that the Army would not have us any force; which might have receiv'd a fatal repulse; but th some good Compromise might have been made by the Inte position of the King. But this Schism carried all the Reput tion and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parli ment; for though it presently appear'd, that the Number o those who left the Houses was small in comparison of tho who remain'd behind, and who proceeded with the same V gour in declaring against the Army, and the City seem'd as r solute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparin for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications bein still entire, so that they might have put the Army to great trou ble if they had steadily pursued their Resolutions (which the did not yet seem in any degree to decline) yet this rent mad all the accused Members, who were the Men of parts, an reputation to conduct their Counsels, to withdraw themselv upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till the had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdraw ing and transporting themselves beyond the Seas, where *Stapleton* died at *Calais* assoon as he Landed; and was denie Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague others remain'd a long time beyond the Seas; and, thoug they long after return'd, never were receiv'd into any trust i those times, nor in truth concurr'd, or acted in the public Affairs, but retired to their own Estates, and liv'd very pri vately.

THE Chief Officers of the Army receiv'd the two Speakers and the Members who accompanied them, as so many An gels sent from Heaven for their good; and paid them all the re spect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as t the Parliament of *England*; and declar'd "That they woul "re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt took very particular care for their accommodations, befor the General; and assign'd a Guard to wait upon them fo their security; acquainted them with all their consultations and would not presume to resolve any thing without their ap probation, and they had too much modesty to think the could do amiss, who had prosper'd so much in all their under takings. No time was lost in pursuing their Resolution t establish the Parliament again at *Westminster*; and finding that the rest of the Members continued still to sit there with the same Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they seem'd to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the

Messages

Meſſages they every day ſent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council (for of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* they took no notice) and Quarter'd their Army about *Brentford*, and *Hounſlow*, *Twittenham*, and the adjacent Villages, without reſtraining any Proviſions, which every day according to cuſtom were carried to *London*, or doing the leaſt Action that might diſoblige, or diſpleaſe the City; the Army being in truth under ſo excellent diſcipline, that no body could complain of any damage ſuſtain'd by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they ſent over Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade of Horſe and Foot, and Cannon, at *Hampton* Court, to poſſeſs *Southwark*, and thoſe works which ſecured that end of *London* Bridge; which he did with ſo little Noiſe, that in one Night's March, he found himſelf Maſter without any oppoſition, not only of the Burrough of *Southwark*, but of all the Works and Forts which were to defend it; the Soldiers within, ſhaking hands with thoſe without, and refuſing to obey their Officers which were to Command them: So that the City, without knowing that any ſuch thing was in agitation, found in the Morning that all that Avenue to the Town was poſſeſſed by the Enemy; whom they were providing to reſiſt on the other ſide, being as confident of this that they had loſt, as of any Gate of the City.

THIS ſtruck them dead; and put an end to all their Conſultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify thoſe whom they had ſo much offended, and provoked; and how they might preſerve their City from Plunder, and the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever been of the Army party, and of late had ſhut themſelves up, and not dared to walk the Streets for fear of the People, came now confidently amongſt them, and mingled in their Councils; declared, "That the King and the Army were "now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houſes were "now with the Army, and had preſented themſelves to the "King; ſo that to oppoſe the Army would be to oppoſe the "King and Parliament, and to incenſe them as much as the "Army. Upon ſuch confident diſcourſes and inſinuations from thoſe with whom they would not have converſed, or given the leaſt credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confuſion and general diſtraction they were in, they ſent ſix Aldermen and ſix Commoners to the General; who lamented and complain'd, "That the City ſhould be ſuſpected, that had "never acted any thing againſt the Parliament; and therefore, they deſired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occaſion of a new War. But the General little conſider'd this Meſſage, and gave leſs countenance to the Meſſengers; but continued his ſlow marches towards the City:

The City ſends ſix Aldermen to the General and ſubmits.

whereupon they ſent an humble Meſſage to him, "That ſinc
"they underſtood that the reaſon of his march ſo near *Londo*
"was to reſtore, and ſettle the Members (the Lords and Con
"mons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of ſittin
"ſecurely in their ſeveral Houſes (to which the City woul
"contribute all their power, and ſervice) they prayed hin
"with all ſubmiſſion, that he would be pleaſed to ſend ſuch
"Guard of Horſe and Foot as he thought to be ſufficient fo
"that purpoſe; and that the Ports and all Paſſages ſhould b
"open to them; and they ſhould do any thing elſe that h
"excellency would Command. To which, he made no oth
Anſwer but "That he would have all the Forts of the We
"ſide of the City to be deliver'd immediately to him; tho
of the other ſide being already, as is ſaid, in the hands
Rainsborough and his other Officers. The Common Cou
cil, that ſate Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Meſſag
without any pauſe return'd "That they would humbly ſul
"mit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty Go
"they did rely only upon his Excellency's honourable Wo
"for their protection, and ſecurity. And ſo they cauſed the
Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well
out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordinance; ar
the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde*-Pa
the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulate
his arrival; and beſought him "To excuſe what they hac
"out of their good meaning and deſire of Peace, done amiſs
and as a Teſtimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayo
on the behalf of the City, preſented a great gold Cup to th
General; which he ſullenly refus'd to receive, and, with ver
little Ceremony, diſmiſſed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other Members to their ſeveral Houſes of Parliament.

HE himſelf waited upon the two Speakers, and conducte
them, and their Members to the ſeveral Houſes, where th
other Members were then ſitting: even in the Inſtant whe
the Revolters, as they had called them, enter'd into the Houſe
the old Speakers, aſſumed their places again, and enter'd upo
their buſineſs as if there had been no ſeparation. The fir
thing they did, was calling in the General in both Houſe
and making him a large acknowledgment in the name
each Houſe, of the great favours he had done to them; the
thanked him "For the Protection he had given to their Pe
"ſons, and his Vindication of the Priviledges of Parliamen
Then they voted "All that had been done by themſelves i
"going to the Army, and in reſiding there, and all that ha
"been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done; a
ſome time after, they alſo voted, That all that had been don
"in the Houſes ſince their departure, was againſt Law, an
"Priviledge of Parliament, invalid and void: Then they ac

"journ'

journ'd to the next day, without queſtioning or puniſhing any Member who had acted there.

THE Army of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, marched the next day through the City (which, upon the deſire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to ſupply an hundred thouſand Pounds for the payment of the Army) without the leaſt diſorder, or doing the leaſt damage to any Perſon, or giving any diſreſpective word to any Man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Diſcipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extraordinary temper and ſobriety. So they marched over *London* Bridge into *Southwark*, and to thoſe Quarters to which they were aſſign'd; ſome Regiments were Quarter'd in *Weſtminſter*, the *Strand*, and *Holborn*, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head Quarters were at *Chelſey*, and the reſt of the Army Quarter'd between *Hampton* Court and *London*, that the King might be well look'd to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, ſate conſtantly, and formally, at *Fulham*, and *Putney*, to provide that no other ſettlement ſhould be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they ſhould well approve. *The Army marches through the City, and Quarters about it.*

WHILST theſe things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoyed himſelf at *Hampton* Court, much more to his content than he had of late; the reſpects of the Chief Officers of the Army ſeeming much greater than they had been; *Cromwell* himſelf came oftner to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openneſs to Mr *Aſhburnham* than he had done, and appear'd more chearful. Perſons of all conditions repaired to his Majeſty of thoſe who had ſerv'd him; with whom he conferr'd without reſervation; and the Citizens flocked thither as they had uſed to do at the end of a Progreſs, when the King had been ſome Months abſent from *London*: but that which pleaſed his Majeſty moſt, was, that his Children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Houſe, at *Sion*, from the time the King came to *Hampton* Court, and had liberty to attend his Majeſty when he pleaſed; ſo that ſometimes he ſent for them to come to *Hampton Court*, and ſometimes he went to them to *Sion*; which gave him great ſatisfaction. *The King at Hampton Court.*

IN this converſation, as if his Majeſty had foreſeen all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time ſure he did not ſuſpect, he took great care to inſtruct his Children how to behave themſelves if the worſt ſhould befall him that the worſt of his Enemies did contrive, or wiſh; and "That they ſhould "preſerve *The King's diſcourſe and converſation with his Children that were in the Parliament's power.*

"preſerve unſhaken their Affection and Duty to the Princ
"their Brother. The Duke of *York* was then about fourtee
years of Age; and ſo capable of any information or inſtru
ction the King thought fit to give him. His Majeſty tol
him, "That he looked upon himſelf as in the hands and diſ
"poſal of the Army, and that the Parliament had no mor
"power to do him good or harm, than as the Army ſhoul
"direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time h
"had been with them, what he might promiſe himſelf fron
"thoſe Officers of the Army at whoſe devotion it was: tha
"he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and there
"fore he gave him this general direction, and commanc
"that if there appear'd any ſuch alteration in the affection c
"the Army, that they reſtrain'd him from the liberty he the
"enjoy'd of ſeeing his Children, or ſuffer'd not his Friends t
"reſort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at pr
"ſent, he might conclude they would ſhortly uſe him worſ
"and that he ſhould not be long out of a Priſon; and ther
"fore that from that time he diſcover'd ſuch an alteration, h
"ſhould bethink himſelf how he might make an eſcape o
of their Power, and Tranſport himſelf beyond the Sea
The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*; where h
preſum'd his Siſter would receive him very kindly, and th
the Prince of *Orange* her Husband would be well pleaſed wi
it, though, poſſibly, the States might reſtrain him from m
king thoſe Expreſſions of his Affection, his own inclinatic
prompted him to. He wiſhed him to think always of this,
a thing poſſible to fall out, and ſo ſpake frequently to him
it, and of the circumſtances and cautions which were nece
ſary to attend it.

THE Princeſs *Elizabeth* was not above a year or tw
younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent Parts, great O
ſervation, and an early Underſtanding; which the King d
cern'd, by the Account ſhe gave him both of things and Pe
ſons, upon the experience ſhe had had of both. His Majeſ
enjoyn'd her, "Upon the worſt that could befal him, nev
"to be diſpoſed of in Marriage without the conſent and a
"probation of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince h
"Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience
"both thoſe; and to obey the Queen in all things, except
"matter of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon h
"Bleſſing, never to hearken or conſent to her; but to con
"nue firm in that Religion ſhe had been Inſtructed and Ed
"cated in, what diſcountenance and ruin ſoever might b
"fall the poor Church, at that time under ſo ſevere Pro
"cution.

THE Duke of *Gloceſter* was very young, being at th
tin

time not above ſeven years old, and ſo might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice and injunction, which in truth ever after made ſo deep impreſſion in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him poſitively, "Never "to be perſwaded or threaten'd out of the Religion of the "Church, in which he hoped he would be well Inſtructed, "and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him re- "member that he had his Father's Teſtimony, and Authority; his Majeſty told him, "That his Infancy, and the Tenderneſs "of his years, might perſwade ſome Men to hope and believe, "that he might be made an Inſtrument, and Property, to ad- "vance their wicked deſigns; and if they ſhould take away "his Life, they might, poſſibly, the better to attain their own "ends make him King; that under him, whilſt his Age "would not permit him to Judge, and Act for himſelf, they "might remove many obſtructions which lay in their way; "and form and unite their Councils; and then they would "deſtroy Him too. But he commanded him, upon his Bleſs- "ing, never to forget what he ſaid to him upon this occa- "ſion, nor to accept, or ſuffer himſelf to be made King, "whilſt either of his Elder Brothers liv'd, in what part of the "World ſoever they ſhould be: that he ſhould remember "that the Prince his Brother was to ſucceed him by the Laws "of God and Man; and, if he ſhould miſcarry, that the Duke "of *York* was to ſucceed in the ſame Right; and therefore that "he ſhould be ſure never to be made uſe of to interrupt, or "diſturb either of their Rights; which would in the end turn "to his own deſtruction. And this diſcourſe the King reite- rated to him, as often as he had liberty to ſee him, with all the earneſtneſs, and paſſion he could expreſs; which was ſo fixed in his Memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was ſent out of *England*, he made the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with that commo- tion of Spirit, that it appear'd to be deeply rooted in him; and made uſe of one part of it very ſeaſonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have per- verted him in his Religion, and to perſwade him to become Roman Catholick for the advancement of his Fortune.

In this manner, and with theſe kind of reflections, the King made uſe of the Liberty he enjoy'd; and conſider'd as well, what remedies to apply to the worſt that could fall out, as to Careſs the Officers of the Army in order to the im- provement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in de- ſpair; the Chief Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wiſeſt Policy to cheriſh the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing

Courtesy towards all who had been of his Party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

At this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jersey* hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highness's approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then that Lord Transported himself into *Zealand*, his Friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavour'd to procure a Pass for him; which they easily did, assoon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own House in the Country, where he was exceedingly belov'd and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton* Court; and gave him a particular Account of all that passed at *Jersey*, before the Prince's remove from thence and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been throughly inform'd, and which put it out of any bodies power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Offices: and from thence the King writ with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jersey*; full of hope "That he should conclude "such a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he should "shortly draw him, and some other of his Friends, to him" He thanked him "For undertaking the work he was upon; "and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some "contribution from him towards it; and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own Memorials (or those which by his Command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his Majesty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the West, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; out of which Memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majesty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Scots* had again made to him; and "That "he did really believe that it could not be long before there "would be a War between the two Nations; in which the "*Scots* promised themselves an universal concurrence from all "the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in such a conjun-"cture, he wished that his own Party would put themselves in "Arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by "the

The Lord Capel waits on the King at Hampton Court from Jersey

The Substance of the King's Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"the ſucceſs of the other: And therefore deſired *Capel* "to "watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his Friends together; which he promiſed to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loſs of his own Life. Then the King enjoyn'd him "To write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that whenever the Queen, or Prince, ſhould require him to "come to them, he ſhould not fail to yield Obedience to "their Command; and himſelf writ to the Queen, "That "when ever the Seaſon ſhould be ripe for the Prince to en-"gage himſelf in any Action, ſhe ſhould not fail to ſend for "the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjuſted, upon the foreſight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had, by ſpecial Command and Order from the King whilſt he was with the *Scots* at *New-Caſtle*, deliver'd up the City of *Dublin* to the Parliament, after the *Iriſh* had ſo infamouſly broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before *Dublin* to beſiege it; by which he was reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the *Iriſh*, or to the Parliament; of which his Majeſty being inform'd, determin'd, he ſhould give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all thoſe who had ſerv'd his Majeſty; and ſo Tranſported himſelf into *England*, and, from *London*, preſented himſelf to the King at *Hampton* Court; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace, as a Perſon who had ſerv'd him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the moſt univerſal Teſtimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He uſed leſs Application to the Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had ſign'd to him; by which he had liberty to ſtay ſo many Months in *England*, and at the end thereof to Tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no compoſition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repair'd frequently to preſent his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleaſed to confer with him, and to find that he was reſolv'd to undertake any Enterpriſe that might Advance his Service; which the King himſelf, and moſt other men who wiſh'd well to it, did at that time believe to be in no deſperate Condition. And no men were fuller of profeſſions of Duty, and a Reſolution to run all hazards, than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; who, from the time they had deliver'd up the King, reſided at *London* with their uſual Confidence, and loudly complain'd of the preſumption of the Army in ſeiſing upon the Perſon of

The Marquis of Ormond *likewiſe waits on the King at* Hampton *Court*:

And Scotiſh Commiſſioners.

the King, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the Interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterprise for his Service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to *Hampton* Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to *Edenborough*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their Persons were known to be most odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to those who now govern'd in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavour'd to be perform'd the next year ensuing, and which the *Scots* themselves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other trusty Persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's Rights and Interest.

The Army begins to be less regardful of the King.

WHEN the Army had thus subdued all oppositions, and the Parliament and they seem'd all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the City seem'd to be suppress'd, and totally tamed, the Army seem'd less regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton* Court, nor had they the same countenances towards *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, ask'd captious Questions, and gave Answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some Propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church, and destructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "If his Majesty would consent thereunto, they would "apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they "could to perswade them to be of the same opinion. But his Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevail'd in all their own designs, by making the World believe that they intended his Majesty's Restoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the Army took it self to be disobliged, and used another Language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some Months, done; and such Officers, who had formerly serv'd the King, and had been civilly treated and shelter'd in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequestrations of all the Estates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiced, and

and the declared Delinquents rack'd to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole Estates were taken from them, and their Persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament against the judgment of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complain'd that it meddled in determining what Settlement should be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they prosecuted a Presbyterian Settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was pressed in all places, and the Anabaptists and other Sects, which begun to abound, were punish'd, restrained, and discountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatsoevet.

The University of Oxford *visited by the Parliament.*

In this year, 1647, they had begun a Visitation of the University of *Oxford*; which they finish'd not till the next year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be imploy'd as Chancellor of the University, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the University; notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable complyance of his Nature, he suffer'd himself to be made a Property in joyning with *Brent*, *Pryn*, and some Committee Men, and Presbyterian Ministers, as Commissioners for the Parliament to reform the Discipline, and Erroneous Doctrine of that Famous University, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Mens Learning, and ability to govern; all Persons of what Quality soever being required to subscribe that Test; which the whole Body of the University was so far from submitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renoun (being at the same time under a strict and strong Garrison, put over them by the Parliament; the King in Prison; and all their hopes desperate) passed a publick Act, and Declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Assembly of the Divines (which then sate at *Westminster*, forming a new Catechism, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventur'd to make any Answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answer'd, but must remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest Malice and Tyranny that was ever exercised in, or over any Nation; and which those famous Commissioners only answer'd by Expelling all those who refused

The Oxford *Reasons against the Covenant passed in Convocation at this time.*

fused to submit to their Jurisdiction, or to take the Covenan which was, upon the matter, the whole University; scar one Governour and Master of College or Hall, and an incr dible small Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, submittir to either; whereupon that desolation being made, they place in their rooms, the most notorious Factious Presbyterians, the Government of the several Colleges or Halls; and suc other of the same Leven in the Fellowships, and Schola places, of those whom they had Expelled, without any rega to the Statutes of the several Founders, and the Incapacities the Persons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ord nance of Parliament, confirm'd all that was this way don and there was no farther contending against it.

IT might reasonably be concluded that this wild and ba barous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learnin Religion and Loyalty, which had so eminently flourish there; and that the succeeding ill Husbandry, and unskilf Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignoranc Prophanation, Atheism, and Rebellion; but, by God's wo derful Blessing, the goodness and richness of that Soil cou not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. choaked the Weeds, and would not suffer the poysono Seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring u but after several Tyrannical Governments, mutually succee ing each other, and with the same malice and perverseness e deavouring to extinguish all good Literature and Allegianc it yielded a Harvest of extraordinary good and sound Knov ledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wicked introduced, applied themselves to the Study of good Lear ing, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to th Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; so that wh it pleased God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to h Throne, he found that University (not to undervalue tl other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusio which had been industriously pour'd into it) abounding excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, l tle inferior to what it was before its desolation; which wa lively instance of God's Mercy, and purpose, for ever so provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell shall nev prevail against it; which were never open'd wider, nor wi more Malice, than in that time.

THESE violent Proceedings in all places, blasted all th King's hopes, and put an end to all the rest and quiet he h for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. H was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither kne how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for hel The Officers of those Guards which were assign'd to atte

his Person, and who had behaved themselves with good Manners, and Duty towards him, and very civily towards those of his Party who had used to wait upon his Majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the Room where the King was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his Majesty seem'd to take notice and be troubled at it, they appear'd not to be concern'd, nor answer'd him with that Duty they had used to do. They affronted the *Scotish* Commissioners very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the King; which caused an expostulation from the Parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had receiv'd, nor made the same Officers more civil towards their Persons. *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, receiv'd many Advertisements from some Officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the Army for the Preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "That "*Cromwell*, and *Ireton* resolv'd never to trust the King, or to "do any thing towards his Restoration; and they two steer'd the whole Body; and therefore it was advised, "That some "way might be found to remove his Majesty out of their hand. Major *Huntington*, one of the best Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell*'s own Regiment of Horse, upon whom he rely'd in an Enterprise of Importance more than upon any Man, had been imploy'd by him to the King, to say those things from him which had given the King the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to *Ashburnham*; and the Major did really believe that he had meant all he said, and the King had a good opinion of the Integrity of the Major, upon the Testimony he had receiv'd from some he knew had no mind to deceive his Majesty; and the Man merited the Testimony they gave him. He, when he observ'd *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expressions for the King than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for "Abusing him, and making him the "Instrument to couzen the King; and, though the other endeavour'd to perswade him that all should be well, he inform'd his Majesty of all he had observ'd; and told him, "That "*Cromwell* was a Villain, and would destroy him if he were "not prevented; and, in a short time after, he gave up his Commission, and would serve no longer in the Army. *Cromwell* himself expostulated with Mr *Ashburnham*, and complain'd "That the King could not be trusted; and that he had no af"fection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them, "and of all the Officers: that he had Intrigues in the Par-

"liament,

"liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the City "to raiſe new Troubles; that he had a Treaty concluded with "the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners to engage the Nation again in "blood; and therefore he would not be anſwerable if any "thing fell out amiſs, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reaſon, beſides the old Animoſity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commiſſioners had complain'd of. What that Treaty were, and what it produced, will be mention'd in a more proper place.

The Levellers grow up in the Army.

THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own conſent, called *Levellers*; who ſpoke inſolently and confidently againſt the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and profeſſed as great Malice against all the Lords, as againſt the King; and declared "That all "degrees of Men ſhould be levelled, and an equality ſhould "be eſtabliſh'd, both in Titles and Eſtates, throughout the "Kingdoms. Whether the raiſing this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell's* ordinary Witchcraft, in order to ſome of his deſigns, or whether it grew amongſt thoſe Tares which had been ſowed in that confuſion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at laſt (which muſt be ſet down hereafter) but the preſent uſe he made of it was, that, upon the licentious diſcourſe of that kind, which ſome Soldiers upon the Guard uſually made, the Guard upon the King's Perſon was doubled; a reſtraint put upon the great reſort of People who came to ſee the King; and all pretended to be for his ſecurity, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his Life; which they ſeem'd to apprehend and deteſt. In the mean time, they neither hinder'd his Majeſty from riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor reſtrain'd thoſe who waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their Functions; though towards all theſe there was leſs civility exerciſed than had been; and the Guard which waited neareſt, were more rude, and made more noiſe at unſeaſonable hours than they had been accuſtom'd to do. The Captain who Commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*, being a Man of a rough and brutal Temper, who had offer'd great violence to his Nature, when he appear'd to exerciſe any civility and good Manners. The King, every day, receiv'd little Billets or Letters, ſecretly convey'd to him without any Name, which advertiſed him of wicked deſigns upon his Life, and ſome of them adviſed him to make an Eſcape, and repair ſecretly into the City, where he ſhould be ſafe; ſome Letters directing him to ſuch an Alderman's Houſe; all which his Majeſty look'd upon as artifice to lead him into ſome ſtreights from whence he ſhould not eaſily explicate himſelf; and yet

man

many who repaired to him, brought the same advice from Men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

THE King found himself in great perplexity, from what he discern'd and observ'd himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their Malice was at the height, and that they did design his Murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiscover'd, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City seem'd not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover Courage for such an adventure; and the Army now was much more Master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass, but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discover'd; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Resolution, or Counsel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "The "reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some de- "sperate Persons had a design to Assassinate him; and there- "fore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining "concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon such Pro- "positions as should be fit for him to consent to; and he "would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that "should be for the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. There were discover'd the treading of Horses at a Back door of the Garden into which his Majesty had a passage out of his Chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horse to be there ready at an hour, and Sr *John Berkley*, *Ashburnham*, and *Legg*, to wait upon him, the two last being of his Bed-Chamber. *Ashburnham* alone seem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehension of the Guards, and the Horse Quarters, they rode towards the South West, and towards that part of *Hamp-shire* which

The King escapes from Hampton-Court Nov. 11.

which led to the New Foreſt. The King asked *Aſhburnha* where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude th the King reſolv'd to Tranſport himſelf. After they had ma ſome ſtay in that part next the Sea, and *Aſhburnham* had be ſome time abſent, he return'd without any news of the Shi with which the King ſeem'd troubled. Upon this diſappoi ment, the King thought it beſt, for avoiding all High-wa

He comes to Tichfield *in* Hamp-ſhire.

to go to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampto* (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his M ther with a ſmall Family, which made the retreat the mo convenient; there his Majeſty alighted, and would ſpe with the Lady; to whom he made no ſcruple of Commun cating himſelf, well knowing her to be a Lady of that H nour, and Spirit, that ſhe was ſuperior to all kind of tempt tion. There he refreſhed himſelf, and conſulted with h three Servants, what he ſhould next do, ſince there was ne ther Ship ready, nor could they preſume that they could r main long there undiſcover'd.

IN this Debate, the Iſle of *Wight* came to be mention'd (a they ſay) by *Aſhburnham*, as a place where his Majeſty migh ſecurely repoſe himſelf, until he thought fit to inform the Pa liament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governo there, an Officer of the Army, and of neareſt truſt with *Cron well*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter *John Hambden*, whoſe memory he always adored; yet, b ſome fatal miſtake, this Man was thought a Perſon of Hc nour and Generoſity enough to truſt the King's Perſon to, an

The King ſends Aſh-burnham *and* Berk-ley *to Col.* Hammond *in the Iſle of* Wight.

Aſhburnham, and *Berkley*, were ſent to him with Order: "Firſt to be ſure that the Man would faithfully promiſe not t deliver his Majeſty up though the Parliament or Arm "ſhould require him, but to give him his Liberty to ſhift fo "himſelf, if he were not able to defend him; and except h "would make that promiſe, they ſhould not let him knov "where his Majeſty was, but ſhould return preſently to him With this Commiſſion they two croſſed the Water to the Iſl of *Wight*, the King in the mean time repoſing himſelf at *Tich field*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who wa known to them both, who had Converſation with him in th Army, when the King was well treated there (and thei Perſons had been very civilly treated by moſt of the Officers who thought themſelves qualified ſufficiently for Court Pre ferments) They told him, "That the King was withdrawn "from the Army; of which he ſeem'd to have had no no tice, and to be very much ſurpriſed with it. They then ſaid, "That the King had ſo good an opinion of him, knowing him "to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr *Hammond* "(whoſe Nephew he was) that he would truſt his Perſon "with

with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament if he would promiſe that if his Meſſage had not that effect which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to himſelf to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to the Parliament, or Army, if they ſhould require it. lis Anſwer was, "That he would pay all the Duty and Service to his Majeſty that was in his power; and, if he pleaſed to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as well as he could; but that he was an Inferior Officer, and muſt obey his Superiors in whatſoever they thought fit to command him: with which when he ſaw they were not ſaſied, he asked, "Where the King was? to which they ade no other Anſwer, "But that they would acquaint his Majeſty with this Anſwer, and, if he were ſatisfied with it, they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr *Aſhburnham* would ſtay with him, and that the other might go to the King; which Mr *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do.

AFTER ſome time ſpent in Debate, in which he made any expreſſions of his deſire to do any Service to his Maſty, they were contented that he ſhould go with them; and *Aſhburnham* ſaid, "He would conduct him to the place where the King was; and ſo he, commanding three our four Serants or Soldiers to wait on him, they went together to *ichfield*; and the other ſtaying below, *Aſhburnham* went up the King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with l that had paſſed, and that *Hammond* was in the Houſe, his Majeſty broke out in a paſſionate exclamation, and ſaid, "O *Jack*, thou haſt undone me! with which the other falling ito a great paſſion of weeping, offer'd to go down, and to ill *Hammond*; to which his Majeſty would not conſent; and, ter ſome pauſing, and deliberation, ſent for him up, and endeavour'd to perſwade him to make the ſame promiſe, which ad before been propoſed; to which he made the ſame Anwer he had done, but with many profeſſions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majeſty; and ſeem'd to believe that ne Army would do well for him. The King believ'd that here was now no poſſible way to get from him, he having ne Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and ſo went with him into the Iſle of *Wight*, and was lodg'd at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, at firſt with all demonſtration of reſpect and Duty.

They bring Hammond *to the King.*

Hammond *removes the King to* Carisbrooke *Caſtle.*

IT never appear'd afterwards that the King was maliciouſly betray'd to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery nd practice of thoſe he truſted; and his Majeſty himſelf never ntertain'd the leaſt Jealouſy, or Suſpicion of it; yet the whole eſign appear'd to be ſo weakly contriv'd, the not being ſure f a Ship, if the Reſolution were fixed for Embarking, which

The Author's opinion of this whole buſineſs.

was

was never manifeſt, the making choice of the Iſle of *Wight* and of *Hammond* to be truſted, ſince nothing fell out whic was not to be reaſonably foreſeen, and expected, and th bringing him to *Tichfield*, without the permiſſion of the Kin if not directly contrary to it, ſeem'd to be all ſo far from rational deſign and conduct, that moſt Men did believe the was Treaſon in the contrivance, or that his Majeſty entruſ ed thoſe who were groſly impos'd upon and deceiv'd by h greateſt Enemies. *Legg* had had ſo general a Reputation Integrity, and Fidelity to his Maſter, that he never fell und the leaſt Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was very punctual and ſteady obſerver of the Orders he receiv' but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a be ter Judgment and Underſtanding than either of the oth two, his modeſty and diffidence of himſelf never ſuffer'd hi to contrive bold Counſels. *Berkley* was leſs known amor thoſe Perſons of Honour and Quality who had follow'd th King, being in a very private Station before the War, and h Poſt in it being in the fartheſt Corner of the Kingdom, and n much ſpoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholde to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to b predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in hin ſelf, and did not delight to converſe with thoſe who had no but he never fell under any blemiſh of Diſloyalty, and h took care to publiſh that this Enterpriſe of the King's was totally without his privity, that he was required to attend o Horſe-back at ſuch an hour, and had not the leaſt intimatio of his Majeſty's purpoſe what he intended to do. Anoth particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did hi much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Aſhbur ham* ſhould remain with him whilſt the other went to th King, which *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do, *Berkley* did offer hin ſelf to remain with him whilſt *Aſhburnham* ſhould attend h Majeſty; ſo that the whole weight of the prejudice and r proach was caſt upon *Aſhburnham*; who was known to hav ſo great an intereſt in the Affections of his Majeſty, and great an influence upon his Counſels and Reſolutions, that h could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

THE not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was ur excuſable; and the putting the King into *Hammond*'s hanc without his leave, could never be wiped out. There wer ſome who ſaid, that *Aſhburnham* reſolv'd that the King ſhoul go to the Iſle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton* Court; an the Lord *Langdale* often ſaid, "That being in Mr *Aſhburn* "*ham*'s Chamber at that time, he had the curioſity, whilſt th "other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that la "upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be be

"fo

'for the King to withdraw from the Army, where he was 'in such danger; and that the Isle of *Wight* would be a good 'retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a 'very honest Man. And this was some days before his Majesty remov'd. And then it was observ'd, that *Hammond* himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Isle of *Wight* at a Season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because *Ashburnham* was not afterwards call'd in Question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but liv'd unquestion'd long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the Officers of the Army who had most deceiv'd him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the Murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and liv'd at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserv'd his Reputation and Credit with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune, and many conveniencies; which would have been seised by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remain'd till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affection, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second return'd, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, "That Mr *Ashburnham* did in-'tend the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left '*Hampton* Court. Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had overwitted him, and perswaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the Army, and put himself into *Hammond's* hands; for if in truth Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

Sr *John Berkley*, who shortly after the King's being in the Isle of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and remain'd still with the Duke of *York* to the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr *Ashburnham*, who continued in *England*, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been so

ſollicitous to wipe off the aſperſions which were caſt upon them joyntly, that they had it in care to preſerve the Reputation of a joynt Innocence; but whilſt each endeavour'd to clear himſelf, he objected or imputed ſomewhat to the other that made him liable to juſt cenſure; and in this contention their Friends mention'd their ſeveral diſcourſes ſo loudly, and ſo paſſionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they lov'd beſt, that they contracted a very avow'd Animoſity againſt each other; inſomuch as it was generally believ'd upon the King's Return, that they would, with ſome fierceneſs, have expoſtulated with each other in that way which angry Men chooſe to determine the right, or that both of them would have deſir'd the King to have cauſed the whole to be ſo ſtrictly examin'd, that the World might have diſcern'd, where the faults or overſights had been, if no worſe could have been charged upon them: but they applied themſelves to neither of thoſe Expedients, and liv'd only as Men who took no delight in each others Converſation, and who did not deſire to cheriſh any familiarity together. And the King, who was ſatisfied that there had been no Treaſonable contrivance (from which his Father had abſolv'd them) did not think it fit, upon ſuch a Subject, to make ſtrict Inquiſition into Inadvertencies, Indiſcretions, and Preſumptions which could not have been puniſhed proportionally.

IT is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had paſſed in that Affair, which they made not publick, but gave in writing to ſuch of their Friends in whoſe opinions they moſt deſir'd to be abſolv'd, without any Incli nation that one ſhould ſee what the other had writ; in which though there were ſeveral reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of leſs moment, there was nothing in either that ſeem'd to doubt of the Integrity of the other nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferr'd with both of them at large, to diſcover in truth what the motives might be which led to ſo fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I ſhould declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or ſuborn'd to gratify any Perſons with a diſſervice to their Maſter. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irreſolute, and eaſy to be ſhaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other Underſtanding; but, as it uſually falls out in Men of that kind of Compoſition, and Talent, they were both diſpoſed to communicate more freely with, and, conſequently, to be adviſed by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun to

o know, than old Friends, and ſuch whoſe judgments they ould not but eſteem; who they had no mind ſhould go harers with them in the merit of any notable Service which hey thought themſelves able to bring to paſs. Then, in the whole managery of the King's buſineſs, from the time that hey came into the Army, they never converſed with the ame Perſons; but govern'd themſelves by what they receiv'd rom thoſe whoſe correſpondence they had choſen. *Aſhburnham* ſeem'd wholly to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and ather upon what they ſaid to others than to himſelf. For eſides outward Civilities, which they both exerciſed towards im more than to other Men, they ſeldom held private diſourſe with him, perſwading him "That it was better for both their ends, in reſpect of the jealouſy the Parliament had of them, that they ſhould underſtand each others mind, as to the Tranſaction of any particulars, from third Perſons mutually intruſted between them, than from frequent conſultations together; and Sr *Edward Ford*, who had Married *reton*'s Siſter, but had been himſelf an Officer in the King's rmy from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of ood meaning, though not able to fathom the reſerv'd and ark deſigns of his Brother in Law, was truſted to paſs beween them, with ſome other Officers of the Army, who had iven *Aſhburnham* reaſon to believe that they had honeſt urpoſes.

BERKLEY had not found that reſpect, from *Cromwell* and *reton*, that he expected; at leaſt diſcern'd it to be greater ward *Aſhburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought vidence enough of a defect of Judgment in them; and there- re had apply'd himſelf to others, who had not ſo great ames, but greater Intereſt, as he thought, in the Soldiers. lis chief confidence was in Dr *Staines*, who, though a Dr in hyſick, was Quarter Maſter General of the Army; and one *Watſon*, who was Scout Maſter General of the Army; both the Council of War, both in good credit with *Cromwell*, nd both notable Fanaticks, and profeſſed Enemies to the *ots*, and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both Perittted, and inſtructed to Careſs Sr *John Berkley*, and, by adiring his Wiſdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on heirs; and diſſimulation had ſo great, and ſupreme an inience on the Hearts and Spirits of all thoſe who were truſtl, and imploy'd by *Cromwell*, that no Man was ſafe in their ompany, but he who reſolv'd before, not to believe one ord they ſaid. Theſe two Perſons knew well how to huour Sr *John Berkley*, who believ'd them the more, becauſe ey ſeem'd very much to blame *Ireton*'s ſtubbornneſs towards e King, and to fear that he often prevail'd upon *Cromwell*

againſt his own Inclinations: They inform'd him, of many particulars which paſſed in the Council of Officers, and ſometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King receiv'd by *Aſhburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirm'd Sr *John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the firſt who poſitively advertiſed the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the firſt who ſeem'd to apprehend that the King's Perſon was in danger, and that there was ſome ſecret deſign upon his Life.

I Do not believe that Sr *John Berkley* knew any thing of the King's purpoſe in his intended eſcape, or whither he reſolv'd to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he reſolv'd at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a place, to take Horſe, and was himſelf required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himſelf, when he took Horſe, reſolv'd whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jerſey*; and that was the ground of the Queſtion to Mr *Aſhburnham*, "Where is the Ship? Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Iſle of *Wight*. I am not ſure that Mr *Aſhburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believ'd the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Iſle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make an eſcape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to diſſwade the King from an apprehenſion of his own ſafety, when it was much more natural to fear an Aſſaſſination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr *Aſhburnham* had ſo great a deteſtation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into their hands, as was adviſed by many with a purpoſe that he ſhould be there concealed, till ſome favourable conjuncture ſhould offer it ſelf (for no body imagin'd that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have enter'd into a Conteſt with that Army which had ſo lately ſubdued them) the ſecurity of ſuch an Eſcape was not to be relied on, and very earneſtly diſſwaded his Maſter from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was univerſally known, and as hath been ſaid before, was an ingredient into the compoſition of that civility and kindneſs the Officers of the Army had for him. They did to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foreſaw would in the future be as inconve-

nient

nient, and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the Person of the King; which they seem'd wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "That they knew "not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was "in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or sub-"due it, if the King were at any distance from them; and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, some body who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hammond* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr *Ashburnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale's* relation of such a Paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a meer fiction; to which, besides that he was a Person of unblemish'd Honour and Veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr *Ashburnham* did constantly deny that he ever saw any such Paper, or had any thought of the Isle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton* Court, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent Actions of his Life, to have his Fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blasted his Reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Master to the Isle of *Wight*, without his Privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been look'd upon by all Men as such a transcendent Crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

THE suddain unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impression upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appear'd, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his Return. The Army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was.

THE Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was most frighted with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until some Conspiracy should be ripe, and all his Party should be present in *London* to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton* Court, than they passed an Ordinance of both Houses, by which they declared, "That "it

"it should be Confiscation of Estate, and loss of Life, to an "Man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King's Pe "son in his House, without revealing, and making it know "to the Parliament: which, no doubt, would have terrifie them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth a mongst them, he would quickly have been discover'd, an given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presby terians Houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he ha been there; and sent Posts to all Ports of the Kingdom "Tha "they might be shut, and no Person be suffer'd to Embark "lest the King, in disguise, Transport himself; and a Procla mation was issued out, "For the banishing all Persons wh "had ever Borne Arms for the King, out of *London*, or an "place within twenty Miles of it; and all Persons of that kinc who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, an put into several Prisons, with all the circumstances of severit and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly clear'd, an within two days, *Cromwell* inform'd the House of Commons "That he had receiv'd Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of al "the Manner of the King's coming to the Isle of *Wight*, an "the Company that came with him; that he remain'd ther "in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleasure of the Parlia "ment should be known. He assured them, "That Colone "*Hammond* was so honest a Man, and so much devoted t "their Service, that they need have no jealousy that he migh "be corrupted by any Body; and all this relation he made wit so unusual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King wa where He wished he should be.

And now the Parliament maintain'd no farther Contest with the Army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they pro posed; the Presbyterians in both Houses, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that some close Correspondence they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton* Court, would be discover'd; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they stoutly dis charged their Trust.

But *Cromwell* had more cause to fear a fire in his own Quarter, and that he had raised a Spirit in the Army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first form'd by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humour of *Fairfax*; who wished nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: These Agitators, had hitherto transcribed faithfully

all

all the Copies he had given them, and offer'd such Advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army, and in such a place as the Army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all necessary impression upon them, He desir'd to restrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had so long enjoy'd, and to keep them within stricter Rules of Obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Consultations concerning the settling the Government of the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament; whose Authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismiss'd from State Affairs; of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore when they were admitted no more to consultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They enter'd into new Associations, and made many Propositions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all Conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appear'd a great Party. They did not only meet against the expres Command of their Officers, but drew very considerable Parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privity of their Superiors; and there perswaded them to enter into such Engagements, as would in a short time have dissolv'd the Government of the Army, and absolv'd them from a dependence upon their General Officers. The suppression of this License, put *Cromwell* to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false Brothers to comply in the Counsels of the Conspirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary Guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having ask'd some Questions of those whom he observ'd most active, and receiving insolent Answers, he knock'd two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his Troop, and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be Hanged, and sent others to *London* to a more formal Tryal. By two

Cromwell suppresses a Tumult of the Levellers.

or three ſuch Encounters, for the obſtinacy continued long he totally ſubdued that Spirit in the Army, though it conti nued and encreaſed very much in the Kingdom; and if it ha not been Encounter'd at that time with that rough and briſl temper of *Cromwell*, it would preſently have produced all ima ginable confuſion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

ALL oppoſition being thus ſuppreſſed and quieted, an *Cromwell* needing no other aſſiſtance to the carrying on hi deſigns, than the preſent temper and inclination of the Parlia ment, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, briefly propoſing tc him, "That he would forthwith grant his Royal Aſſent to fou "Acts of Parliament; which they then ſent to him. By one of them, he was to coneſs the War to have been raiſed by him againſt the Parliament; and ſo that he was guilty of al the Blood that had been ſpilt. By another, he was totally tc diſſolve the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and tc grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to ſuch uſes as they propoſed; leaving the ſettling a future Government in the place thereof to farther Time and Counſels. By a third he was to grant, and ſettle the Militia in the Manner and in the Perſons propoſed, reſerving not ſo much power in himſelf as any Subject was capable of. In the laſt place, he was in effect, to Sacrifice all thoſe who had ſerv'd, or adher'd to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The Parliament ſends a Meſſage to the King to paſs four Acts.

THE Perſons who were ſent with theſe four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Anſwer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commiſſioners of Parliament there came likewiſe the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were deliver'd, and read to the King, the very next day, deſir'd an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, deliver'd a Declaration, and Proteſtation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt thoſe Bills and Propoſitions. They ſaid, "They "were ſo prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, "and Intereſt of the Kingdoms, and ſo far different from the "former proceedings and engagements between the two King- "doms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, "in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare "their diſſent. The King had receiv'd Advertiſement, that aſſoon as he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the Bills, he ſhould preſently be made a cloſe Priſoner, and all his Servants ſhould be removed from him; upon which, and becauſe the Commiſſioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his poſitive Anſwer, he reſolv'd that his Anſwer ſhould not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his Eſcape, before new Orders could be ſent from *Weſtminſter*: ſo when

The Commiſſioners of Scotland enter a Proteſtation againſt them.

when the Commissioners came to receive his Answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commissioners, and a Person very ungracious to the King, told him, "That though they had no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his Answer, yet they were not to be look'd upon as Common Messengers, and to carry back an Answer that they had not seen: and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "They would return without any, except they might see what they carried.

The King gives his Answer to the Parliament Commissioners.

His Majesty conceiv'd that their return without his Answer would be attended with the worst Consequences; and therefore he told them, "That he had some reason for having offer'd to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the Communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read, which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it) and thereupon he open'd it, and gave it one to read. The Answer was, "That his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged Interests, that a firm and lasting Peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirm'd, since the Commissioners for *Scotland* do solemnly protest against the several Bills and Propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his Assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an Answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful Peace. He gave them many unanswerable reasons, "Why he could not pass the four Bills as they were offer'd to him; which did not only devest him of all Soveraignty, and leave him without any possibility of recovering it to him or his Successors, but open'd a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his Subjects, he granting such an Arbitrary and Illimited Power to the two Houses. He told them, "That neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome Condition of Life, which he had so long suffer'd, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a Personal Treaty (and therefore very earnestly desir'd the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at *London*, or any other place they would rather choose. Assoon as this Answer, or to the same effect, was read, he deliver'd it to the Commissioners; who no sooner receiv'd it than they kissed his hand, and departed for *Westminster*.

THE

Presently after Hammond *removes the King's old Servants from about him.*

THE Commissioners were no sooner gone than *Hammond* caused all the King's Servants, who till then had all Libe to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Castle; a forbid any of them to repair thither any more; and appoin a strong Guard to restrain any Body from going to the Ki if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, a surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hc he had left. He told *Hammond*, "That it was not suitable "his engagement, and that it did not become a Man of H "nour or Honesty to treat him so, who had so freely "himself into his Hands. He asked him, whether the Co "missioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed "this matter? To which he Answer'd, "That they were n "but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do as "had done; and that he saw plainly by his Answer to the P "positions, that he acted by other Counsels than stood w "the good of the Kingdom.

THIS insolent and imperious proceeding, put the Isla (which was generally inhabited by a People always well fected to the Crown) into a high Mutiny. They said, "Th "would not endure to see their King so used, and made "Prisoner. There was at that time there one Captain *Bur* who was of a good Family in the Island. He had beer Captain of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of Command when the Fleet Rebell'd against the King; a then he put himself into the King's Army, where he con nued an Officer of good Acconnt to the end of the War, a was in one of the King's Armies General of the Ordnanc When the War was at an end, he repair'd into his own Cou try, the Isle of *Wight*; where many of his Family still liv in good Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *Ne port*, the chief Town in the Island, when the King was th treated, and when the People seem'd generally to resent with so much indignation; and was so much transported wi the same fury, being a Man of more Courage than of Pr dence and Circumspection, that he caused a Drum to be pr sently beaten and put himself at the head of the People wl flock'd together, and cry'd "For God, the King, and t "People; and said, "He would lead them to the Castle, a "rescue the King from his Captivity. The attempt was pr sently discern'd to be irrational, and impossible; and by t great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who h been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and Men resorted to their own Houses; but the poor Gentlem paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. F *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and t Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of Oy

Thereupon Captain Burley *stirs up the People in the Island: but is quickly suppressed, condemn'd, and executed.*

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ınd *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom hey had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for ſuch Ser-ices, preſided; who cauſed poor *Burley* to be, with all forma-ity, Indicted of high Treaſon for Levying War againſt the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which he Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon vhich their Judge condemn'd him, and the Honeſt Man was orthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all the circum-tances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which ſtruck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the firſt precedent of their aving brought any Man to a formal Legal Trial by the Law o deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High-Treaſon for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper im-reſſion upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties hey had yet exerciſed by their Courts of War; which though hey took away the Lives of many Innocent Men, left their Eſtates to their Wives and Children; but when they ſaw now, hat they might be condemn'd of High Treaſon before a vorn Judge of the Law for ſerving the King, by which their Eſtates would be likewiſe Confiſcated, they thought they ıould be juſtified if they kept their Hearts entire, without eing involv'd by their Actions in a Capital Tranſgreſſion.

How the King's Anſwer is receiv'd by the Parliament; and Cromwell's *Speech of the King thereupon.*

UPON the receipt of the King's Anſwer, there appear'd new Spirit and Temper in the Houſe of Commons; hitherto, ıo Man had mention'd the King's Perſon without Duty and Reſpect, and only lamented "That he was miſled by evil and "wicked Counſellors; who being removed from him, he "might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refuſal to paſs theſe Bills, every Man's ıouth was open'd againſt him with the utmoſt Sawcineſs, and .icence; each Man ſtriving to exceed the other in the impu-lence and bitterneſs of his Invective. *Cromwell* declared, "That the King was a Man of great parts, and great under-"ſtanding (faculties they had hitherto endeavour'd to have ıim thought to be without) "But that he was ſo great a diſ-"ſembler, and ſo falſe a Man, that he was not to be truſted. And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilſt he was in he Army, that his Majeſty wiſh'd that ſuch, and ſuch things night be done, which being done to gratify him, he was diſ-)leaſed, and complain'd of it: That whilſt he profeſſed with "all ſolemnity that he referr'd himſelf wholly to the Parlia-"ment, and depended only upon their Wiſdom and Counſel "for the Settlement and Compoſing the Diſtractions of the "Kingdom, he had, at the ſame time, ſecret Treaties with "the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, how he might imbroil the Nation "in a New War, and deſtroy the Parliament. He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themſelves with ſending

Meſſages

"Meſſages to him, or farther Propoſitions, but that they mig
"enter upon thoſe Counſels which were neceſſary towar
"the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther r
"courſe to the King. Thoſe of his Party ſeconded this a
vice with new Reproaches upon the Perſon of the Kin
charging him with ſuch abominable Actions, as had been n
ver heard of, and could be only ſuggeſted from the malice
their own Hearts; whilſt Men who had any Modeſty, ar
abhorr'd that way of proceeding, ſtood amaz'd and confoun
ed at the manner and preſumption of it, and without Courag
to give any notable oppoſition to their Rage. So that, aft
ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate Debates to this purpoſe, the
Voted, "That they would make no more Addreſſes to t
King, but proceed towards ſettling the Government, ar
"providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in ſuch manner
"they ſhould judge beſt for the benefit and liberty of the Su
"ject: and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Decl
ration to inform and ſatisfy the People of this their Reſol
tion, and the grounds thereof, and to aſſure them, "That the
"had Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner. In th
mean time, the King, who had, from the time of his comin
to the Iſle of *Wight*, enjoy'd the liberty of taking the Air, an
refreſhing himſelf throughout the Iſland, and was attended b
ſuch Servants as he had appointed, or ſent for, to come th
ther to him, to the time that he had refuſed to paſs thoſe Bill
from thenceforth was no more ſuffer'd to go out of the Caſtl
beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, a
ter this Vote of the Houſe of Commons, that there ſhould b
no more Addreſſes made to him, all his Servants being remov'
a few new Men, for the moſt part unknown to his Majeſty
were deputed to be about his Perſon to perform all thoſe O
fices which they believ'd might be requiſite, and of whoſe F
delity to themſelves they were as well aſſured, as that the
were without any Reverence or Affection for the King.

Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King, &c.

A meeting of Cromwell and the Officers at Windſor, wherein they deſign the King's Deſtruction.

IT is very true, that within few days after the King's with
drawing from *Hampton* Court, and after it was known tha
he was in the Iſle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the Ge
neral Officers of the Army at *Windſor*, where *Cromwell* an
Ireton were preſent, to conſult what ſhould be now done wit
the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators
and reſolv'd to break their meetings, and though the Parlia
ment concurr'd in all he deſir'd, yet his entire confidence wa
in the Officers of the Army; who were they who ſway'd th
Parliament, and the Army it ſelf, to bring what he intende
to paſs. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof wer
always Faſtings and Prayers, made at the very Council b
Cromwell or *Ireton*, or ſome other *Inſpired* Perſon, as moſt o
th

he Officers were, it was resolv'd "That the King should be "prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person: of which his Majesty was advertised speedily by *Watson*, Quarter Master General of the Army; who was present; and had pretended, rom the first coming of the King to the Army, to have a lesire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain t; but the Resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation, or jealousy; but was, as t had been, to be cozen'd by degrees to do what they never ntended. Nor was his Majesty easily perswaded to give credit to the Information; but though he expected, and thought t very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they nade towards it, was, their Declaration "That they would "make no more Addresses to the King, that by an Interegnum they might feel the pulse of the People, and discover ow they would submit to another form of Government; nd yet all Writs, and Process of Justice, and all Commissions, still issued in the King's Name without his consent or rivity; and little other change or alteration, but that what vas before done by the King himself, and by his immediate Order, was now perform'd by the Parliament; and, instead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same Obedience from the People.

THIS Declaration of no more Addresses, contain'd a charge gainst the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from he beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Insinuation, as if "He had conspired with the Duke "of *Buckingham* against the life of his Father; the prejudice "he had brought upon the Protestant Religion in Foreign "parts, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who imploy'd them against *Rochel*: they renew'd the remembrance, nd reproach of all those grievances which had been mention'd in their first Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contain'd in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all so fully Answer'd by his Majesty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treason: they charged him with being "The cause of all the blood that had "been spilt, by his having made a War upon his Parliament, "and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made "to him; and in regard of all these things, they resolv'd to "make no more Address to him, but, by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

The Vote of no more Addresses seconded by a Declaration.

THIS

THIS Declaration found much oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, in reſpect of the particular reproaches they had now caſt upon the Perſon of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own publiſh'd Declarations to the People charged upon the evil Counſellors, and Perſons about him and ſome Perſons had been ſentenc'd, and condemn'd, for thoſe very crimes which they now accuſed his Majeſty of. But there was much more exception to their concluſion from thoſe premiſes, that therefore they would addreſs themſelves no more to him; and *John Maynard*, a Member of the Houſe and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjuſt proceedings, after he had with great vehemence oppoſed, and contradicted the moſt odious Parts of their Declaration, told them plainly, "That by this reſolution of making no more "Addreſſes to the King, they did, as far as in Them lay "diſſolve the Parliament; and that, from the time of that determination, he knew not with what ſecurity, in point of "Law, they could meet together, or any man joyn with them "in their Counſels: That it was of the Eſſence of Parliament "that they ſhould upon all occaſions repair to the King; and "that his Majeſty's refuſal at any time to receive their Petitions, or to admit their Addreſſes, had been always held "the higheſt breach of their Privilege, becauſe it tended to "their diſſolution without diſſolving them; and therefore if "they ſhould now, on their parts, determine that they would "receive no more Meſſages from him (which was likewiſe a "part of their Declaration) nor make any more addreſs to "him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no "longer a Parliament: and then, how could the People look "upon them as ſuch? This Argumentation being boldly preſs'd by a Man of that Learning and Authority, who had very ſeldom not been believ'd, made a great impreſſion upon all Men who had not proſtituted themſelves to *Cromwell*, and his Party. But the other ſide meant not to maintain their reſolution by diſcourſes, well knowing where their ſtrength lay; and ſo ſtill called for the Queſtion; which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they foreſaw it would; very many Perſons who abhorr'd the determination, not having Courage to provoke the powerful Men by owning their diſſent; others, ſatisfying themſelves with the reſolution to withdraw themſelves, and to bear no farther part in the Counſels; which *Maynard* himſelf did; and came no more to the Houſe in very many Months, nor till there ſeem'd to be ſuch an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reverſal of that Monſtrous determination; and many others did the ſame.

Mr Maynard's Argument againſt it.

WHEN

When this Declaration was thus paſſed the Commons, id by them ſent to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence. ie Manner of the Matter was of that importance as to need uch Debate, but, with as little formality as was poſſible, had the concurrence of that Houſe, and was immediately inted, and publiſhed, and new Orders ſent to the Iſle of *ight*, for the more ſtrict looking to, and guarding the King, at he might not eſcape.

The publiſhing this Declaration wrought very different fects in the minds of the People, from what they expected would produce; and it appear'd to be ſo publickly deteſted, at many who had ſerv'd the Parliament in ſeveral unwarntable Imploymenrs and Commiſſions, from the beginning the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themlves from the Service of the Parliament; and much inigh'd againſt it, for declining all the Principles upon which ey had engaged them. Many private Perſons took upon em to publiſh Anſwers to that Declaration, that, the King mſelf being under ſo ſtrict a reſtraint that he could make Anſwer, the People might not be poyſon'd with the beof of it. And the ſeveral Anſwers of this kind wrought ry much upon the People, who open'd their Mouths very ud againſt the Parliament and the Army; and the clamour as encreaſed by the encreaſe of Taxes, and Impoſitions, hich were raiſed by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the ingdom; and though they were ſo entirely poſſeſſed of the hole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garriſons thereof, that ey had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded part of their Army; and notwithſtanding they raiſed inedible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and e Crown Lands; for which they found Purchaſers enough nongſt their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, id upon compoſition with Delinquents, and the ſale of their ands who refuſed, or could not be admitted, to compound which few refuſe to do who could be admitted, in regard at their Eſtates were all under Sequeſtration, and the Rents ereof paid to the Parliament, ſo that till they compounded ey had nothing to ſupport themſelves, whereby they were iven into extreme wants and neceſſities, and were comelled to make their Compoſitions, at how unreaſonable rates ever, that they might thereby be enabled to ſell ſome part, preſerve the reſt, and their Houſes from being pulled wn, and their Woods from being waſted or ſpoiled) Notithſtanding all theſe vaſt receipts, which they ever prended ſhould eaſe the People of their Burden, and ſhould ffice to pay the Army their expences at Sea, and Land, their bts were ſo great, that they raiſed the publick Taxes; and,

beſides

beſides all Cuſtom, and Exciſe, they Levied a Monthly Co tribution of above a hundred thouſand pounds by a Land T throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had bee ever done before, and it being at a time when they had n Enemy who contended with them, was an Evidence that would have no end, and that the Army was ſtill to be ke up, to make good the reſolution they had taken, to have n more to do with the King; and that made the reſolution g nerally the more odious. All this grew the more inſuppor able, by reaſon that upon the publiſhing this laſt monſtro Declaration, moſt of thoſe Perſons of condition, who, as ha been ſaid before, had been ſeduced to do them Service throug out the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in ſo deteſtab an employment; and now a more inferior ſort of the con mon People ſucceeded in thoſe imployments, who theret exerciſed ſo great inſolence over thoſe who were in Quali above them, and who always had a power over them, that was very grievous; and for this, let the circumſtances t what they would, no redreſs could be ever obtain'd, all d ſtinction of Quality being renounced. They who were n above the condition of ordinary inferior Conſtables, ſix or ſeve years before, were now the Juſtices of Peace, and Sequeſtrator and Commiſſioners; who executed the Commands of the Pa liament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with ſuch Rigo and Tyranny, as was natural for ſuch Perſons to uſe over an towards thoſe upon whom they had formerly looked at ſuch diſtance. But let their ſufferings be never ſo great, and th murmur and diſcontent never ſo general, there was no ſhado of hope by which they might diſcern any poſſible relief: t that they who had ſtruggled as long as they were able, ſul mitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more ſatisfaction, i that they ſaw many of thoſe who had been the principal Co trivers of all the miſchiefs to ſatisfy their own Ambition, an that they might govern others, reduced to almoſt as ill a co dition as themſelves, at leaſt to as little Power, and Auth rity, and Security; whilſt the whole Government of the N tion remain'd, upon the matter, wholly in Their hands wh in the beginning of the Parliament were ſcarce ever hear of, or their names known but in the places where they inh bited.

THE King being in this melancholick neglected Cond tion, and the Kingdom poſſeſſed by the new Rulers, witho controul, in the new method of Government, where ever thing was done, and ſubmitted to, which they propounde they yet found that there was no foundation laid for the Peace and future Security; that beſide the general diſconten of the Nation, which for the preſent they did not fear, the

wer

were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*; which would, in the Progress have an influence upon *England*.

The Affairs of Ireland.

In *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were possessed of *Dublin*, and upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munster*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broghill*; yet the *Irish* Rebels had very great Forces, which cover'd all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Irish*, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of Number: they had an apprehension of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at *Hampton* Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stay'd in *London*, by all those who had serv'd the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfy'd with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scotish* Commissioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; insomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had resolv'd to have apprehended and imprison'd him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to stay six Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferr'd with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, about the time that the King left *Hampton* Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Sussex*; and in an obscure and unguarded Port Harbour, put himself on board a Shallop, which safely transported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom it could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis of Ormond transports himself out of England into France.

At the same time, there were Commissioners arriv'd from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholicks; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The Faction grew so great amongst the *Irish* themselves, and the Pope's Nuntio exercised his Authority with so great Tyranny and Insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, assoon as they should send more Forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great streights, and necessities. They therefore sent Commis-

sioners to the Queen and Prince to desire, "That by their fa
"vour, they might have the King's Authority again amon
"them; to which they promised, for the future, a ready obe
dience, with many acknowledgments of their former misca
riage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis o
Antrim, who was one of the Commissioners, and was alwa
inseparable from the highest Ambition (though without ar
Qualifications for any great Trust) had entertain'd the hop
that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion o
him, the Government of *Ireland* should be committed to Hir
and his Conduct; which none of the other Commissione
thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Ma
quis of *Ormond*, in whom the King's Authority was veste
for he remain'd still Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King's Cor
mission; and they had reason to believe that all the *Engli*
Protestants, who had formerly liv'd under his Governme
(without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw th
Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselve
would return to the same obedience, assoon as he should r
turn to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not
trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult Im
ployment, and so referr'd the Commissioners to make all the
Overtures, and Propositions to him; who knew well enoug
what they would not do if they could, and what they cou
not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever h
was to the King's Service, nothing proposed or undertake
by them, could have been the least inducement to him to e
gage himself, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But the
were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for th
King's Service, to which he had dedicated himself, made hi
believe that he might with some success appear again in th
Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing, mig
have a good effect upon the temper of *England* towards th
mending his Majesty's Condition there.

The Reasons that moved the Marquis to go again into Ireland.

FIRST, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then absolutely g
vern'd *France*) seem'd very earnestly to advise it, and pr
mised to supply him with a good Sum of Money, and store
Arms and Ammunition to carry with him; which he kne
very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was pri
to the *Scotish* Engagement, and to a resolution of many Perso
of great Honour in *England*, to appear in Arms at the san
time; which was design'd for the Summer following; wher
by the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have ne
divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send an
considerable Supplies into *Ireland*; without which, the
Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, whic
was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he ha
durin

luring his abode in *England*, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power and Command of all he *English* Army there; which was a better Body of Men han the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the ervice he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been ery great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well reuited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of he Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with xposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had ankly promis'd the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience; and that gainst the time he should be sure of his presence, he would ake a Cessation with the *Irish* in Order to a firm conjunction f that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came nto *France*, he receiv'd still Letters from that Lord to hasten is Journey thither.

THESE were the Motives which disposed the Marquis to omply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he conferted all hings with the *Irish* Commissioners; who return'd into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to onsent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be f advantage.

THE Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, ot to be inform'd of whatsoever was whisper'd there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the *Irish* (for f the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance ny design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a urpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, hey believ'd, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Interest, who had serv'd the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well eceiv'd there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

AFTER the King had been so infamously deliver'd up to he Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, and assoon as the

Army had poſſeſſed themſelves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehenſion that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and eſtabliſhed their own greatneſs by reſtoring the King to his juſt Rights, of which they had ſo fouly depriv'd him; and then the conſcience of their guilt made them preſume, what Their Lot muſt be; and therefore the ſame Commiſſioners who had been joyn'd with the Committee of Parliament in all the Tranſactions, made haſte to *Weſtminſter* again to their old Seats, to keep their Intereſt which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remain'd ſtill the ſame profeſſion of maintaining the ſtrict Union between the two Kingdoms and that all Tranſactions ſhould be by joynt Counſels. And aſſoon as the King appear'd with ſome ſhew of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appear'd with more confidence than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the reſt; as if they had been the Men who had contriv'd his Reſtoration: No Men in ſo frequent Whiſpers with the King; and they found ſome way to get themſelves ſo much believ'd by the Queen with whom they held a diligent Correſpondence, that her Majeſty very earneſtly perſwaded the King "To truſt them "as the only Perſons who had Power and Credit to do him "Service, and to redeem him from the Captivity he was in Duke *Hamilton*, who had been ſent Priſoner by the King to the Caſtle of *Pendennis*, and had been deliver'd from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoyed his Liberty at *London*, and in his own Houſe at *Chelſey*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scotiſh* Army and at *New-Caſtle*; and ſome time before his Majeſty was deliver'd up to the Parliament Commiſſioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own Houſe at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjuſtly ſuffer'd under the King's Jealouſy, and diſpleaſure and who remain'd ſtill very faithful to him; and during the time that he remain'd in and about *London*, he found means to converſe with many of the King's Party, and made great profeſſions that he would do the King a very ſignal Service which he deſired them to aſſure his Majeſty of; and ſeem'd exceedingly troubled and aſhamed at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no ſhare in that infamy made him the more truſted in *England*, and to be receiv'd with the more reſpect in *Scotland* by all thoſe who abhorr'd that Tranſaction.

Duke Hamilton goes into Scotland.

THE Commiſſioners who attended his Majeſty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "Malice and power of the Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his "Credit

'Credit, and Authority in the Council, and in the Army; 'ſo that nothing could be done which was deſir'd by Honeſt 'Men; but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongſt them, who 'they knew was moſt devoted to his Majeſty, they ſhould 'be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the proceedings of the 'Army and the Parliament, were ſo foul, and ſo contrary to 'their publick Faith, that they were confident that all *Scot-'land* would riſe as one Man for his Majeſty's defence and 'vindication; and they were well aſſured, there would ſuch 'a Party in *England* of thoſe who were faithful to his Majeſty, 'appear at the ſame time, that there would be little queſtion 'of being able, between them, to be hard enough for that 'part of the Army that would oppoſe them; which his Ma-eſty knew well was reſolv'd by many Perſons of Honour, who afterwards perform'd what they had promiſed.

WHEN the Commiſſioners had, by theſe Inſinuations, gain'd new Credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their Invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, ſhould be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reaſonable before ſuch an Invaſion, which was likewiſe to be haſten'd, that it might be at the ſame time when the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould appear in *Ireland*) they begun to propoſe to him many Conditions, which ſhould be neceſſary for his Majeſty to engage himſelf to perform towards that Nation; without which it would not be eaſy to induce it into ſo unanimous a Conſent and Engagement, as was neceſſary for ſuch an Enterpriſe. They requir'd, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, "That the Prince of *Wales* ſhould be preſent "with them, and march in the head of their Army; and de-"ſired that advertiſement, and order, might be ſent to that "purpoſe to the Queen, and the Prince, at *Paris*; that ſo his "Highneſs might be ready for the Voyage, aſſoon as they "ſhould be prepared to receive him. The King would by no means conſent that the Prince ſhould go into *Scotland*, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that Party there; but he was contented, that when they ſhould have enter'd *England* with their Army, then the Prince of *Wales* ſhould put himſelf in the head of them. They demanded, "That ſuch a number of *Scots*-men ſhould be always in the "Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other places about the "Perſons of the King, and Prince, and Duke of *York*: That "*Berwick* and *Carliſle*, ſhould be put into the hands of the "*Scots*; and ſome other Conceſſions with reference to the Northern Counties; which trench'd ſo far upon the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, that his Majeſty utterly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſo the Agreement was not concluded

The Commiſſioners of Scotland's private Treaty with the King at Hampton Court.

when the King left *Hampton* Court. But, assoon as he wa at the Isle of *Wight*, the *Scotish* Commissioners repaired t him, at the same time with those who were sent to him fro the Parliament for his Royal Assent to those four Bills spoke of before; then in that season of despair, they prevail'd wit him to Sign the Propositions he had formerly refused; and having great apprehension from the Jealousies they knew th Army had of them, that they should be seised upon, an searched in their return to *London*, they made up their precio Contract in Lead; and buried it in a Garden in the Isle o *Wight*; from whence they easily found means afterwards to re ceive it. So constant were those Men to their Principles, an so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their Alle giance; to which neither Conscience nor Honour did invit or dispose them. So after a stay of some Months at *London* to adjust all Accounts, and receive the remainder of thos Monies they had so dearly earn'd, or so much of it as the had hope would be paid, they return'd to *Scotland*, with th hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, tha was then govern'd by it; but with the veneration of the Pres byterian Party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now in cumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a fast intercours and correspondence was settled, as well by constant Letters as by frequent Emissaries of their Clergy, or other Persons, whose devotion to their Combination was unquestionable.

Which Treaty was renew'd; and He Sign'd it at the Isle of Wight.

It can never be enough wonder'd at that the *Scotish* Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unrestrain'd by Conscience as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their Interest by such conditions, and limitations, as all wise Men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the Assistance they should find ready to joyn with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable Persons who in the contest with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whose Interest,

Conduct

Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publickly profeſs that all the King's Friends ſhould be moſt welcome, and receiv'd by them; nor did they truſt any one Presbyterian in *England* with the Knowledge of the Particulars contain'd in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Perſons who tranſacted it, and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as eaſily have overrun the Country before their Army invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *Engliſh* Man have joyn'd with them. Beſides the Infamous Circumſtances by which they extorted Conceſſions from the King, which would have render'd any Contract odious (it being made in thoſe four days, which were all that were aſſign'd both to the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; ſo that his Majeſty had not only no time to adviſe with others, but could not adviſe with Himſelf upon ſo many monſtrous Particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have ſubmitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his Life appear'd to be in more manifeſt danger by his refuſal) the Particulars themſelves were the moſt ſcandalous, and derogatory to the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and underſtood, by all Men, with all poſſible indignation.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty Sign'd the 26. of Dec. 1647.

AFTER they had made his Majeſty give a good Teſtimony of their League and Covenant, in the Preface of their Agreement, and "That the intentions of thoſe who had enter'd into "it, were real for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon "and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways "to diminiſh his juſt Power and Greatneſs, they obliged him "aſſoon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, to be "preſent in a free Parliament, to confirm the ſaid League and "Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the "ſecurity of all who had taken, or ſhould take it. It is true, they admitted a Proviſo, "That none who was unwilling, "ſhould be conſtrain'd to take it. They likewiſe oblig'd his Majeſty "To confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, Pref-"byterian Government; the Directory for worſhip; and the "Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, for three years; ſo that "his Majeſty, and his Houſhold, ſhould not be hinder'd from "uſing that form of Divine Service he had formerly practiſed; "and that during thoſe three years there ſhould be a Conſul-"tation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to which twenty of "the King's nomination ſhould be added, and ſome from the "Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it ſhould be determin'd "by his Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, what "form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd after the expira-

"tion of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word "of God: that an effectual course should be taken by Act of "Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the "suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, "Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antino- "mians, Armenians, Famylists, Brownists, Separatists, Inde- "pendents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the "suppressing all Blasphemy, Heresy, Schism, and all such "scandalous Doctrines and Practices as are contrary to the "light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Christia- "nity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversa- "tion, or the power of Godliness, or which may be destru- "ctive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of the "Church or Kingdom. The King promised, "That in the "next Session of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland* "should declare for his Majesty, in pursuance of this Agree- "ment, he should in Person, or by Commission, confirm the "League and Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that Kingdom, his Majesty declared, "That he should then likewise be con- "tent to give assurance by Act of Parliament, that neither "He, nor his Successors, should Quarrel, call in Question, or "command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for "giving Obedience to the same. Then they made a long re- cital of "The Agreement the Parliament of *England* had made, "when the *Scots* Army return'd to *Scotland*, that the Army "under *Fairfax* should be disbanded; and of that Army's sub- "mitting thereunto; of their taking the King from *Holmby*, "and keeping him Prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle "of *Wight*; and since that time both his Majesty, and the "Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had very earn- "estly desir'd that the King might come to *London*, in safety, "honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the two "Houses and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*; "which, they said, had been granted, but that the Army "had in a violent manner, forced away divers Members of the "Parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed "themselves of the City of *London*, and all the Strenghts, and "Garrisons of the Kingdoms; and that by the strength, and "influence of that Army, and their adherents, Propositions "and Bills had been sent to the King without the advice and "consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties "which are between the two Kingdoms, and destructive to "Religion, his Majesty's just Rights, the Privileges of Parlia- "ment, and Liberty of the Subject; from which Propositions, "and Bills, the *Scotish* Commissioners had dissented, and pro- "tested against, in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

After

AFTER this preamble, and recital, they said, "That forasmuch as his Majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling Religion, and other matters in difference, as is expreſt in this Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and engage it self, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the King may come to *London* in safety, honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, upon such Propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the Kingdoms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all Armies should be disbanded; and in case that this should not be granted, that Declarations should be emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament towards his Majesty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in which they would assert that Right that belonged to the Crown, in the power of the Militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of Honours and Offices of Trust, choice of the Privy Counsellors, and the Right of the King's Negative Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen's Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought to remain where his Majesty shall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: That, upon the issuing out this Declaration, an Army should be sent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the preservation, and establishment of Religion; for defence of his Majesty's Person, and Authority, and restoring him to his Government, to the just Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majesty, and his Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace. In pursuance whereof, the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour "That there might be a free and full Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present Parliament. And they undertook, that the Army which they would raise, should be upon its march, before the Message and Declaration should be deliver'd to the Houses. It was farther agreed, "That all such in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, as would joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agreement, should be protected by his Majesty in their Persons, and Estates; and that all his Majesty's Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who would joyn with him, in pursuance of this Agreement, might come to the *Scotish* Army, and joyn with them, or else put themselves into other Bodies in *England* or *Wales*, for prosecution of the same ends, as "the

"the King's Majesty should judge most convenient, and un
"der such Commanders, or Generals of the *English* Nation
"as his Majesty should think fit: And that all such shoul
"be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and their Army
"in their Persons and Estates; and where any injury or wron
"is done unto them, they would be careful to see them full
"repair'd, as far as it should be in their power to do; an
"likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those wh
"joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty shall b
"careful of their full reparation.

THEY obliged his Majesty to promise "That neither him
"self, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, should mak
"or admit of any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement wha
"soever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propositions, Bills, c
"any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parli
"ment, or any Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, witl
"out the advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*
"and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of *Scotlan*
"nor any having their Authority, should make or admit
"any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, witl
"out his Majesty's advice or consent: And that, upon the se
"tlement of Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion t
"be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments
"both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince, or botl
"should come into *Scotland* upon the invitation of that King
"dom, and their Declaration, that they should be in honou
"freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come wit
"safety, and convenience; and that the King should contribut
"his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assistin
"the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by Sea an
"Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Arms, Ammun
"tion, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding th
"Coasts of *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Me
"chants in the free exercise of their Trade and Commerc
"with other Nations; and likewise that his Majesty was wil
"ing, and did Authorize the *Scotish* Army to possess themselv
"of *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, with the Castl
"of *Tinmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*; those places t
"be for Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peac
"of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of *Sco*
"*land* should remove their Forces, and deliver back agai
"those Towns and Castles.

AND as if all this had not been recompence enough fo
the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they oblige
the King to promise and undertake to pay, the remainder
that Brotherly Assistance which was yet unpaid upon th
large Treaty after their first Invasion of *England*, and likewi

tw

vo hundred thouſand pounds, which remain'd ſtill due upon
ie laſt Treaty made with the Houſes of Parliament for re-
irn of the *Scotiſh* Army, when they had deliver'd up the
ing; and alſo, "That payment ſhould be made to the King-
dom of *Scotland*, for the charge and expence of their Ar-
my in this future War, with due recompence for the loſſes
which they ſhould ſuſtain therein; and that due ſatisfaction,
according to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two
Kingdoms, ſhould be made to the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*,
out of the Lands of the Kingdom, and otherwiſe: And that
he King, according to the intention of his Father, ſhould
endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, ſo as
hey may be one under his Majeſty, and his Poſterity; or
f that cannot ſpeedily be effected, that all Liberties and
Privileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures,
peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation, ſhall be common
o the Subjects of both Kingdoms without diſtinction; and
hat there be a Communication, and mutual capacity, of
ll other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms:
That a competent number of Ships ſhould be yearly aſ-
ign'd and appointed out of his Majeſty's Navy, which
hould attend the coaſts of *Scotland*, for a Guard, and free-
dom of Trade of that *Nation*; and that his Majeſty ſhould
declare that his Succeſſors, as well as Himſelf, are obliged
o the performance of the Articles, and Conditions of this
Agreement; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be obliged to the
performance of the aforeſaid Articles, until the Kingdom of
Scotland ſhall declare for him in purſuance of this Agree-
nent; and that the whole Articles, and Conditions afore-
aid, ſhall be finiſhed, perfected, and perform'd before the
eturn of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that when they return into
Scotland, at the ſame time, *ſimul & ſemel* all Armies ſhould
e disbanded in *England*. And for a compliment, and to
ive a reliſh to all the reſt, the King engaged himſelf "To
employ thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation equally with the *Engliſh*
n all Forreign Imployments, and Negotiations; and that
third part of all the Offices and Places about the King,
Queen, and Prince, ſhould be conferr'd upon ſome Per-
ons of that Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one
of them, will frequently reſide in *Scotland*, that the Subjects
of that Kingdom may be known to them. This Treaty and
greement being thus preſented to the King by the *Scotiſh*
ommiſſioners in the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, his Majeſty was
evailed with to ſign the ſame the 26th day of *December*
47; and to oblige himſelf, "In the word of a King, to
erform His part of the ſaid Articles; and the Earl of *Low-*
r, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and
the

the Earl of *Lanrick*, being intrusted as Commissioners fro
that Kingdom, sign'd it likewise at the same time; and e
gaged themselves "Upon their Honour, Faith, and Conscienc
"and all that is dear to Honest Men, to endeavour to the u
"most of their power, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* shou
"engage to perform what was on its part to be perform'd
"which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland* wou
"do, and they themselves would hazard their Lives and Fo
"tunes in pursuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Me
have ever done) can wonder that such an Engagement m
with the fate that attended it; which contain'd so many mo
strous Concessions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *En
land* had been likewise imprison'd in *Carisbrook* Castle wi
the King, it could not be imagin'd that it was possible to
perform'd; and the three Persons who were Parties to i
were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observ'
which they used as the best Argument, and which only pr
vailed with the King, "That the Treaty was only made
"enable them to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raise
"Army, and to unite it in his Majesty's Service; which le
"than those Concessions would never induce them to d
"but when that Army should be enter'd into *England*, a
"so many other Armies should be on foot of his *English* Sul
"jects for the vindication of his Interest, there would be
"body to exact all those particulars; but every Body wou
"submit to what his Majesty should think fit to be done
which though it had been urged more than once before
induce the King to consent to other inconveniences, whic
they would never after release to him, did prevail with hi
at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, the
were contented that it should be inserted under the sam
Treaty, as it was, "That his Majesty should declare, that b
"the Clause of confirming Presbyterian Government by A
"of Parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settlin
"Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills to th
"effect; and that he likewise understands that no Perso
"whatsoever shall suffer in his Estate, nor undergo any Co
"poral punishment, for not submitting to Presbyterian G
"vernment; his Majesty understanding that this indemnit
"should not extend to those who are mention'd in the Articl
"against Toleration: and to this the three Earls likewise sub
scribed their hands, "As Witnesses only, as they said, that h
"Majesty had made that Declaration in their presence, n
"as Assenters; so wary they were of administring jealousy t
their Masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so Fun
damental a Point, as they knew that would be thought to b

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THERE was a wonderful difference, throughout their hole proceedings, between the heads of thoſe who were ought to ſway the Presbyterian Counſels, and thoſe who vern'd the Independents, though they were equally Maſters diſſimulation, and had equally malice and wickedneſs in eir Intentions, though not of the ſame kind, and were equally ireſtrain'd by any ſcruples or motions of Conſcience, the In- pendents always doing that, which how ill and unjuſtifi- le ſoever, contributed ſtill to the end they aimed at, and the concluſion they meant to bring to paſs; whereas the esbyterians, for the moſt part, did ſomewhat that reaſon- ly muſt deſtroy their own end, and croſs that which they ſt and principally deſign'd; and there were two Reaſons at might naturally produce this ill Succeſs to the Latter, at ſt hinder'd the even progreſs and current which favour'd e other. Firſt, their Councils were moſt diſtracted and vided, being made up of many Men, whoſe humours and tures muſt be obſerv'd, and complied with, and whoſe con- rrence was neceſſary to the carrying on the ſame deſigns, ough their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas e other Party was entirely led and govern'd by two or three, whom they reſign'd, implicitely, the conduct of their In- reſt; who advanced, when they ſaw it ſeaſonable, and ſtood ll, or retired, or even declined the way they beſt liked, nen they ſaw any inconvenient jealouſy awakend by the ogreſs they had made.

The Author's judgement of the different Conduct of the two Parties, the Independent Engliſh, and the Presbyrian Scots.

IN the ſecond place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean e *Scots*, form'd all their Counſels by the Inclinations, and ffections of the People; and firſt conſider'd how they might rrupt, and ſeduce, and diſpoſe them to ſecond their pur- ſes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence d aſſiſtance, before they reſolv'd to make any attempt; and is made them in ſuch a degree ſubmit to their ſenſeleſs, and retched Clergy; whoſe infectious breath corrupted, and go- rn'd the People, and whoſe Authority was prevalent upon eir own Wives, and in their Domeſtick Affairs; and yet ey never communicated to them more than the outſide of eir deſigns: Whereas, on the other ſide, *Cromwell*, and the w others with whom he Conſulted, firſt conſider'd what was ſolutely neceſſary to their main and determin'd end; and en, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means bſervient to it; to couzen and deceive Men, as long as ey could induce them to contribute to what they deſired, pon Motives how forreign ſoever; and when they would ep company with them no longer, or farther ſerve their rpoſes, to compel them by force to ſubmit to what they ould not be able to oppoſe; and ſo the one reſolv'd only to

to do what they believ'd the People would like and approve and the other, that the People ſhould like and approve wha they had reſolv'd. And this difference in the meaſures the took, was the true cauſe of ſo different Succeſs in all they un dertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he go an ill name by it with thoſe who take what he ſays from th report of other Men, or do not enough conſider themſelve what he ſays, and his method in ſpeaking: (He was as grea an Enemy to Tyranny and Injuſtice in any Government, a any Man then was, or now is; and ſays) "That a Man wer "better be a Dog than be ſubject to thoſe Paſſions and Appe "tites, which poſſeſs all Unjuſt, and Ambitious, and Tyran "nical Perſons; but he confeſſes, "That they who are ſo trani "ported, and have entertain'd ſuch wicked deſigns as are voi "of all Conſcience, muſt not think to proſecute them by th "rules of Conſcience, which was laid aſide, or ſubdued, be "fore they enter'd upon them; they muſt make no ſcruple c "doing all thoſe impious things which are neceſſary to com "paſs and ſupport the Impiety to which they have devote "themſelves; and therefore he commends *Cæſar Borgia* fo "not being ſtartled with breach of Faith, Perjuries, and Mur "ders, for the removal of thoſe Men who he was ſure woul "croſs, and enervate the whole Enterpriſe he had reſolv'c "and addicted himſelf to; and blames thoſe Uſurpers, wh "had made themſelves Tyrants, for hoping to ſupport a Go "vernment by Juſtice, which they had aſſumed unjuſtly, an "which having wickedly attempted, they manifeſtly loſt b "not being wicked enough. The common old Adage, "Tha "he who hath drawn his Sword againſt his Prince, ought t "throw away the Scabbard, never to think of ſheathing i "again, will ſtill hold good; and they who enter upon un warrantable Enterpriſes, muſt purſue many unwarrantable way to preſerve themſelves from the penalty of the firſt guilt.

CROMWELL, though the greateſt Diſſembler living, al ways made his Hypocriſy of ſingular uſe and benefit to him and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent ſoeve it ſeem'd to be, but what was neceſſary to the deſign; eve his roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which, in the beginning o the Parliament, he affected contrary to the ſmoothneſs, an complacency, which his Couſin, and boſom Friend, Mr *Ham bden* practiced towards all Men, was neceſſary; and his firſ publick Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to hi Troop when it was firſt Muſter'd, "That he would not deceiv "or couzen them by the perplexed and involv'd expreſſion "in his Commiſſion, to Fight for King and Parliament; an therefore told them, "That if the King chanced to be in th "Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would al "ſoon

ſoon diſcharge his Piſtol upon him, as any other private Perſon; and if their Conſcience would not permit them to do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves in his Troop, or under his Command; which was generally look-d upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the pro-ſſions the Parliament then made, have prov'd dangerous to im; yet ſerv'd his turn, and ſever'd from others, and united nong themſelves, all the furious, and incenſed Men againſt ıe Government, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to look up-ı him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might de-end, as one who would go through his work that he under-ook. And his ſtrict and unſociable Humour in not keeping ompany with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities, ıd Exceſſes, to which moſt of the ſuperior Officers under the arl of *Eſſex* were inclined, and by which he often made mſelf ridiculous or contemptible, drew all thoſe of the like ur or reſerv'd Natures, to his Society and Converſation, and ıve him opportunity to form their Underſtandings, Inclina-ons, and Reſolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew have a wonderful Intereſt in the Common Soldiers, out of hich, as his Authority increaſed, he made all his Officers, ell inſtructed how to live in the ſame manner with their oldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own ırpoſes: whilſt he looked upon the Presbyterian Humour the beſt incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presby-rian; he ſung all Pſalms with them to their Tunes, and ıv'd the longeſt Sermons as much as they; but when he diſ-over'd that they would preſcribe ſome limits and bounds to ıeir Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would ex-ire aſſoon as ſome few particulars were granted to them in eligion, which he cared not for; and then that the Go-ernment muſt run ſtill in the ſame Channel; it concern'd im to make it believ'd "That the State had been more De-linquent than the Church, and that the People ſuffer'd more by the Civil than by the Eccleſiaſtical Power; and therefore that the Change of one, would give them little eaſe, if there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the whole Government in both were not reform'd, and alter'd; hich though it made him generally odious at firſt, and ir-conciled many of his old Friends to him; yet it made thoſe ho remain'd, more cordial and firm: he could better com-ute his own ſtrength, and upon whom he might depend. his diſcovery made him contrive the new Model of the rmy; which was the moſt unpopular Act, and diſobliged all ioſe who firſt contrived the Rebellion, and who were the ery Soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to paſs,

and

and changed a General, who, though not very ſharp-ſighte would never be govern'd, nor applied to any thing he d not like, for another who had no Eyes, and ſo would be w ling to be led, all his deſigns muſt have come to nothin and He remain'd a private Colonel of Horſe, not conſide able enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Cor poſition.

AFTER all the Succeſſes of his new Model, he ſaw h Army was ballanced by that of the *Scots*, who took themſelv to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to hav contributed no leſs towards the ſuppreſſion of the King, tha that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, an Reduction of the King to that lowneſs, deſired ſtill a compo tion, and to ſubmit again to the Subjection of the King; n was it yet time for him to own or communicate his reſolutic to the contrary, leſt even many of thoſe who wiſhed the e tirpation of Monarchy, might be ſtartled at the difficulty the Enterpriſe, and with the Power that was like to oppo them. He was therefore firſt to incenſe the People againſt th *Scotiſh* Nation, "As being a mercenary aid, entertain'd at "vaſt Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be paid the "Wages, and to be diſmiſſed, without having the honour t "judge with them upon what conditions the King ſhoul "be receiv'd, and reſtor'd; the accompliſhing whereof, ough "to be the particular Glory of the Parliament without a R "val, and that the King might owe the benefit wholly t "them. And this was as popular an Argument as he coul embark himſelf in, the whole Kingdom in general having that time a great deteſtation of the *Scots*; and they who mo deſired the King's Reſtoration, wiſh'd that he might have little obligation to them as was poſſible, and that they migh have as little credit afterwards with him. With this unive ſal Applauſe, he compelled the *Scotiſh* Army to depart th Kingdom, with that circumſtance as muſt ever after rende them odious and infamous. There now ſeem'd nothing mor dangerous and deſtructive to the power and intereſt of th *Engliſh* Army, in ſo general a diſcontent throughout the King dom, than a diviſion, and mutiny within it ſelf; that th Common Soldiers ſhould erect an Authority diſtinct from thei Officers, by which they would chooſe to govern againſt thei Superior Commanders, at leaſt without them, and to fanc that they had an Intereſt of their own ſever'd from theirs for the preſervation whereof they were to truſt none but them ſelves; which had ſcarce ever been heard of before in an Army, and was looked upon as a preſage of the ruin of th whole, and of thoſe who had adhered to them; yet, if he ha

no

not raiſed this ſeditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding ſome part of it, and ſending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New-Caſtle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocriſy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again ſo unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cauſe to the King to ſuſpect the ſafety of his Perſon, and thereupon to make his Eſcape from the Army; by which his Majeſty quickly became a Priſoner, and ſo was depriv'd of any reſort, from whence many miſchiefs might have proceeded to have diſturbed his Counſels. How conſtantly he purſued this method in his ſubſequent Actions, will be obſerv'd in its place.

CONTRARY to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their firſt Invaſion in the year 1640, and always interwove ſome Conditions in their Counſels and Tranſactions, which did not only prove, but, in the inſtant, might have been diſcern'd to be, diametrically oppoſite to their publick Intereſt, and to their particular Deſigns. It is very true, that their firſt Invaſion, ſaving their breach of Allegiance, might have ſome excuſe from their Intereſt. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had receiv'd great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the preſent King, yet thoſe particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the moſt part, Perſons of little intereſt in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themſelves expoſed to ſome late preſſures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "Were againſt Conſcience, and an Invaſion of their Religion; from which they had indicated themſelves ſo rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if thoſe Perſons whom they had moſt provoked, retain'd their intereſt ſtill with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they were promiſed to be ſecured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and ſo to procure relief and ſecurity for both Kingdoms. In this Enterpriſe, the Succeſs crown'd their work; they were thought a Wiſe, and Reſolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they return'd into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were

liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honour and Interest from all Assaults; and their being suborn'd afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the strength and power of his Arms) to make a second Invasion of the Kingdom was a weak and childish Engagement, directly opposite to their Interest, except they had at the same time a Resolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpose to do) or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his Royal Person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their Interest to have joyn'd cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his Party in vindication of the Law, and the Government establish'd; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *English* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Interest to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garrisons in *New-Castle*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, all which were in their possession, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong Body of the King's *English* Party, which would quickly have found themselves together; but the delivery of the King up, beside the Infamy of it, was in view, destructive to all that could be thought their Interest.

AFTER all this, when they found themselves couzen'd and deceiv'd in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceiv'd them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King, and then to insist upon such Conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of weakness, and deprav'd understanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adher'd to this obstinate and froward Method, in all the Transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turn'd, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Destruction of that Idol they Ador'd and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse

discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

The King's condition in the Isle of Wight at this time.

All Designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remain'd under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffer'd to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he inform'd her of the *Scotish* Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seem'd to have some ease; and look'd upon it as a good Omen, that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous Affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person placed about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

The present condition of the Parliament.

In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Publick; but in all those Transactions which concern'd particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments, or matter of Profit, Men were consider'd according to the Party they were of; every day those receiv'd benefit who had appear'd most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were remov'd from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in Those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not so great Congregations of the Common People, yet infected, and were follow'd by, the most substantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *Cromwell*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preach-

ing, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, shew'd their *gifts* that way, Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd so far as to joyn with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judaical Institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal Passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of Confusion, as at this time had spread it self over the face of the whole Kingdom.

The Prince's condition at Paris.

DURING all this time, the Prince remain'd at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignation which was made by the Court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and receiv'd by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Cloaths and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allow'd to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistols to dispose as he desir'd. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief Officer, and govern'd all Her receipts, and he lov'd plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffer'd. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore his Aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by Him; which made most Persons of Honour of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chose rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little: nor

was

was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had liv'd more like himself, and appear'd more concern'd in his own Business.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was receiv'd very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the Person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their Fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal Reputation of any Subject the King had. He pressed a speedy dispatch, that he might pursue his design in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilst the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He inform'd the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the necessity of hastning that work, which they understood well enough by the *Irish* Commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of Promises, a Coyn that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

WHEN the Queen, who was as zealous for the dispatch as was possible, pressed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, she receiv'd in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good Sum of Money, and such a Proportion of Arms, and Ammunition, as could be wish'd. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his Embarkation, that those Provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to Transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs, as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that Affair advanced very slowly.

HAVING now, contrary to the order formerly observ'd by Me crowded in all the particular passages, and important Transactions of two whole years in this Book, that I might not interrupt, or discontinue the relation of the mysterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocrisy, and Dissimulation, practised towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dress of Inhumanity and Savageness, with the vile Artifices of the *Scotish* Commissioners to draw the King into their hands,

and then their low and baſe complyance, and groſs folly in delivering him up, and laſtly their abſurd and merchandly Trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preſerving themſelves, and their Nation from being deſtroyed, the many woful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the World with amazement and horror, muſt be the ſubject of the diſcourſe in the next Book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XI.

Deut. XXIX. 24.

Even all Nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? What meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. II. 7.

The Lord hath cast off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the Walls of his Palaces; they have made a noise in the House of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a detestation both of Parliament and Army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed Government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his Majesty's recovery, never People were better disposed to erect and repair again the Building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Testimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, look'd upon the present Army with hatred, as those who reaped the Harvest and Reward of their Labours,

The Temper of the Nation at this time.

and ſpake of them and againſt them in all places accordingly The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the Credit an Reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it againſt th King, found themſelves totally neglected, and the moſt inferio People preferr'd to all places of truſt and profit: The Presbyte rian Miniſters talked very loud; their Party appear'd to be ver numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, an the importunity and clamour from *Ireland*, for ſupplies of Me and Money againſt the *Iriſh*, who grew powerful, raiſed the Cou rage of all diſcontented Perſons to meet and confer togethe and all to enveigh againſt the Army, and the Officers who cor rupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach ſo concernedly as that of "The want of ſupplies to *Ireland*, and that, havin "ſo great an Army without an Enemy, they would not ſpar "any part of it to preſerve that Kingdom. This Argumen made a new warmth in the Houſe of Commons, they wh had been ſilent, and given over inſiſting upon the inſolenc and preſumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and cruſh ed them, took now new Spirit, and preſſed the relief of *Ire land* with great earneſtneſs, and in order thereunto made grea inquiſition into the Expences of the Money, and how ſuch vaſt ſums receiv'd had been diſburſed; which was a large Field, and led them to many Mens doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

The Affairs of Ireland *during the* Lord Liſle's *being there.*

THERE was a deſign this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the ſubduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamours from thence, got the Lord *Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to be ſent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commiſſion for a limited time. He had Landed in *Munſter*, either out of the Jealouſy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or becauſe the beſt part of their Army of *Engliſh* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *Engliſh* no relief, nor weaken'd the power or ſtrength of the *Iriſh*, but rather increaſed their Reputation by the Faction and Bitterneſs that was between the Lieutenant and the Preſident, who writ Letters of complaint one againſt the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commiſſion being expired, and the contrary Party not ſuffering it to be renew'd, the Lord *Liſle* return'd again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have deſtroy'd, in the entire poſſeſſion of the Command, and in greater Reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preſerv'd both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of

the

e ill Condition he was in, and preſſing for a ſupply of Men
id Money, when he knew they would ſend neither.

UPON the return of the Lord *Liſle* the Presbyterians re- Waller *nominated General there, but oppoſed by* Cromwell; *who propoſed* Lambert.
ew'd their deſign, and cauſed Sr *William Waller* to be named
ir Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and
ove his merit, and the experience they had had of his Ser-
ce) becauſe he could quickly draw together thoſe Officers
id Soldiers which had ſerv'd under him, and were now diſ-
inded, and would willingly again engage under their old Ge-
eral. At the firſt, *Cromwell* did not oppoſe this motion, but
nſented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*,
id all the Officers who were willing to go with him, who
: knew were not his Friends, and watch'd an opportunity
be even with him. But when he ſaw *Waller* inſiſt upon
eat Supplies to carry with him, as he had reaſon to do, and
hen he conſider'd of what conſequence it might be to him
d all his deſigns, if a well form'd and diſciplined Army
ould be under the power of *Waller*, and ſuch Officers, he
anged his mind; and firſt ſet his Inſtruments to croſs ſuch
upply of Men and Money, as he had propoſed; "The one,
as more than neceſſary for the Service, and the other as more
than they could ſpare from their other occaſions: And when
is check was put to *Waller*'s Engagement, he cauſed *Lambert*
be propoſed for that Expedition, a Man who was then faſt
the ſame Intereſt He embraced, and who had gotten a great
ame in the Army. He formalized ſo long upon this, that
eland remain'd ſtill unſupplied, and their Affairs there ſeem'd
be in a very ill Condition.

THE *Scots* made ſo much noiſe of their purpoſes, even be-
re their Commiſſioners left *London*, and gave ſuch conſtant
dvertiſements of the impatience of their Country-men to be
Arms for the King, though they made no haſte in provid-
g for ſuch an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who
ere their chief Correſpondents, and the Royal Party, be-
ought themſelves how they might be ready; the one, that
ey might redeem themſelves from their former Guilt, and
e other, that they might not only have a good part in free-
g the King from his Impriſonment, but be able to preſerve
m in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impoſitions, which
ey ſtill apprehended the *Scots* might endeavour to oppoſe,
ough they had no ſuſpicion of the Engagement lately men-
on'd at the Iſle of *Wight*.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very noto- *The Earl of Holland prepares to riſe with the Duke of Bucks and others.*
ouſly amiſs, and had been, ſince his return from *Oxford*,
otably deſpiſed by all Perſons of Credit in the Parliament
id the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a
ew and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by
deſcent

descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and v
privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had constant Int
ligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, t
Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone some mortification with t
rest, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he h
used to have, though he was the High Admiral of *Engla*
by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraor
nary Services. He did not restrain, or endeavour to suppr
the Earl of *Holland*'s discontents, but inflamed them, and p
mised to joyn with him, as many others of that Gang of M
did; resolving that the *Scots* should not do all that work, l
that they would have a share in the merit. The Duke
Buckingham, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, w
newly return'd from Travel, and though both very you
were strong and active Men, and being, in respect of th
Infancy, uningaged in the late War, and so unhurt by it, a
coming now to the possession of large Estates, which th
thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown up
the first opportunity, they fell easily into the Friendship
the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themselves
his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Resolutic
to his old Mistress the Queen at *Paris*, who was always c
posed to trust him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renew
their former Friendship, the warmth whereof had never be
extinguished.

So a Commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl
be General of an Army, that was to be raised for the Rede
ption of the King from Prison, and to restore the Parliame
to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mu*
daunt his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Northampto*
and all the Officers who had serv'd the King in the War, wi
which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom
bounded, applied themselves to the Earl of *Holland*, and r
ceiv'd Commissions from him for several Commands.

THIS Engagement was so well known, and so general
spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst n
take notice of it, or wish'd well to it. And there is no qu
stion, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on wi
so little reservation; there was scarce a County in *England*,
which there was not some Association enter'd into to appe
in Arms for the King. They who had the principal Cor
mand in *Wales* under the Parliament, sent to *Paris* to declar
"That if they might have supply of Arms and Ammunitio
"and a reasonable Sum for the payment of their Garrison
"they would declare for the King; having the chief plac
"of those Parts in their Custody. The Lord *Jermyn* encou
raged all those Overtures with most positive Undertaking
th

it they ſhould be ſupplied with all they expected, within ſo
ny days after they ſhould declare; which they depended
on, and he, according to his cuſtom, never thought of
er; by which the Service miſcarried, and many Gallant
en were loſt.

CROMWELL, to whom all theſe Machinations were known,
oſe rather to run the hazard of all that ſuch a looſe Combi-
ion could produce, than, by ſeiſing upon Perſons, to en-
ge the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the in-
nvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already
t the Presbyterian Party had ſo great an influence up-
the General, that he declar'd to him, "He would not
narch againſt the *Scots*, whom he had a good mind to have
ted before their Counſels and Reſolutions were form'd;
d *Cromwell* had reaſon to believe, that *Fairfax* would be
n to the ſame mind, even after they ſhould have Invaded
Kingdom.

The Scots preparations for an Expedition into England.

ALL things being in this forwardneſs in *England*, it is fit
enquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and
at Expedition they uſed in raiſing their Army. After the
mmiſſioners return from *London*, upon the King's being
de Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, it was long before the
rquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to conſent that a
liament ſhould be called. He had made a faſt Friendſhip
h *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new ſtipula-
n with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great
dertaker, and meant to have all the Honour of whatſoever
uld follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scot-*
d liv'd at firſt very privately at his own Houſe; ſeldom
nt abroad to any Meeting; and to thoſe who came to him,
l to whom that Reſolution would be grateful, he uſed to
ak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge
n thoſe who had Impriſon'd him, than of aſſiſting the
own to recover the Authority it had loſt. *Argyle*, whoſe
wer was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would
depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in the Covenant, and
re without any reverence for the King or his Government,
cern'd that he ſhould never be able to hinder the calling of
arliament, which the People generally called for, and that
ſhould ſooner obtain his end by puzling their proceed-
s, and obſtructing their determinations, after they ſhould
aſſembled, than by obſtinately oppoſing their coming to-
her. So Summons were iſſued for the Convention of a
liament; and they who appear'd moſt concern'd for the
ng, and to ſet him at Liberty from his Impriſonment
hich was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lanrick*,
ther to Duke *Hamilton*, and then reſtored to his Office

of

of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Imprisond at *Oxfo* and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of *Lauth dale*, who had been with the forwardest from the beginni of the Rebellion, when he was scarce of Age, and pro cuted it to the end with most eminent Fierceness and A mosity.

The Characters of Lanrick *and* Lauther-dale.

THEY were both Men of great Parts and Industry, thou they lov'd Pleasures too; both Proud and Ambitious; t former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better N ture, and better Judgement, and an openness and clearn more to be trusted and relied upon than most Men of t Party: the latter, Insolent, Imperious, Flattering, and D sembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experien and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms their darkest designs. The former was a Man of Hone and Courage; the latter had Courage enough not to f where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of H nour to restrain him from doing any thing that might grat any of his passions.

THESE two were the chief Managers and Contrivers carry on this Affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl *Lowden*, had been a Commissioner in *England*, and as pri to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many profe sions and protestations of duty to him as they, and inde was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious f his loose and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he du not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by dissenting from the They used all the Interest and Skill they had, to get su Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament might comply with them; and the People generally we exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delive up of the King to the *English*, to which they imputed all t danger that threaten'd them, and the reproach and Infamy th lay upon their Country; and so had great prejudice to all M who were thought to be the cause of it.

The Parliament met in Scotland; *and their deliberations.*

AT the opening of the Parliament, they did all they cou to inflame the People against the Army in *England*; whic they said, "Had forced the Parliament there to break t "Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill usage of t "King, who was Imprison'd by the Army, nor was it in t "power of the Parliament to set him at Liberty: That th "had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by n "suffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permi "ting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which t "Kingdom of *Scotland* was concern'd, in that being indepe "dent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, the "we

were by them depriv'd of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Human and Divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their King's Liberty, and their own Honour, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those Counsels, which might soonest get an Army together, which should no sooner enter *England*, but it would find a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except only the Army; and that it would then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the Government of the same King.

THIS discourse, urged and seconded by many of the prin-pal Men, was entertain'd by the rest with so general a re-ption, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpose directly contradict or oppose it. He saw the Election of the nights and Burgesses had succeeded according to the wishes the other Lords, and that they would concur with what-ever was proposed; and he found likewise that they had ought upon the greatest part of their Clergy; who be-v'd all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose y thing proposed by them, but only desired, "That they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in n affair of so great concernment, which was like to termi-nate in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms; which ad hitherto proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped reat benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he oped there was no purpose to shake any of those founda-ions which had been laid in the years by-gone, which sup-orted that Government, and made that Kingdom happy; vhich if dissolv'd, all the mischief and tyranny they had ormerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them vith a torrent that should destroy them. Every body de-r'd, "That there was no purpose to swerve, in the least legree, from what was establish'd for the Government in ither Kingdom, by their solemn League and Covenant, vhich they had in perfect veneration, and look'd upon it as n obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed; on which *Argyle* acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but t, in the prosecution of their Counsels, he should find op-tunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to inter-t the conclusion, and execution.

THE

Sr M. Langdale *and Sr* P. Musgrave *and others, treated with by the* Scots, *and invited into* Scotland; *whither they went.*

THE Lords who had been in *England*, and frequen
Hampton Court; whilst the King was there, to make the
selves the more gracious, had treated all the King's Pa
with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had m
applied themselves to those Gentlemen of the North who
most eminently serv'd the King, and who had good Fortu
there to support their Interest. Of this kind there were t
very notable Men, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Ph*
Musgrave; both Men of large and plentiful Estates, the
in *York-shire*, the other in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; v
having been in the time of Peace eminent in their Cour
in the Offices of Justices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutena
had, in the beginning of the War, engaged themselves
Commands in the King's Army with great reputation of st
diligent, and active Officers; and continued to the end,
had not after applied themselves to make any composit
but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swo
in their hands. They were both look'd upon by the Pa
ment, and the chief Officers of the Army, with great jealo
as Men worthy to be fear'd, and who could never be indu
to comply with them. The *Scotish* Lords had not been s
pulous to let these two Gentlemen know what they intend
and "That they made no question but they should eng
"their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a pres
"War with *England* on the King's behalf; and therefore
"fired them, by the Interest, and Influence they had u
"the Northern Counties, to dispose them to a conjunct
"with them. And because they knew that they two w
too notorious to stay with any Security about *London*, m
less in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotla*
where they assured them, "They should not only be safe,
"very welcome; and should be Witnesses of their proce
"ings, and have parts of their own to act in, assoon as
"Season should be ripe.

THESE Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto
hurt, and whilst the Army made those professions towa
the King, had been much courted by the Chief Officers the
of, and had been Quarter'd with them as Friends, knew w
now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately
ply themselves to make their compositions, they should
apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being p
swaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they
cepted their Invitation, and told them, "They should quic
"find them in *Scotland* after their own return. According
after having secretly spent some time in their own Countri
and directed their Friends to be in a readiness when th
should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a w
h

ow to correſpond together, they went into *Scotland* to thoſe ho had invited them, and were receiv'd by them with civiy enough. They own'd ſuch a warineſs, in reſpect of alouſies amongſt themſelves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that ey deſir'd them "For ſome time to withdraw to ſome place hich they recommended to them) "And there to remain in ſecret, and under feigned Names, until the calling of the Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edenborough*, and appear in their own likeneſs with all freedom. So after ving remain'd in that private manner, where they were ell treated for ſome Months, when the Parliament was aſnbled at *Edenborough*, they return'd thither; and were very ell look'd upon by all that knew them; which made them have themſelves with the more freedom and confidence in eir converſation, the forementiond Lords telling them all ey meant to do, and what Arts they were to uſe till they uld get their Army up, towards which they believ'd they d maſter'd the greateſt difficulties.

THOUGH the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had withdrawn from *ndon*, ſhortly after they had proteſted loudly againſt the oceedings of the Parliament, both in impriſoning the King, d in refuſing to give them leave to repair to him, or to reive from him any directions or orders concerning the Gornment of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to proe for their own Security by quitting their Station at *Lonn*, where they receiv'd every day Affronts, and their Perns were expoſed to contempt; yet there were no ſooner eparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, than Commiſ- ners were ſent from the Lords and Commons at *Weſtmin-r* to reſide at *Edenborough*, as if they hoped to over-vote em there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not thout a ſtrong or at leaſt an active Party there. They were ceiv'd with the ſame ſhew of reſpect, and the ſame care was ken for their Accommodation, as had been when they firſt me for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently viſited them, and perm'd all offices of reſpect towards them, but even the *Haltonian* Faction, and they who were moſt ſollicitous to raiſe e War, attended them as officiouſly as others, and made e ſame profeſſions to preſerve the Peace and Amity between e two Nations.

Commiſſioners ſent from the two Houſes into Scotland.

THAT rigid Party of the Clergy which ſo ador'd the Conant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the Letter, that they did not ſire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in efct to lay him aſide, and to ſettle the Government without n, as their Brethren in *England* had reſolv'd to do, were ver from them, and willingly receiv'd ſuch Preſents and

Penſions

Penſions from the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, as they were p-
pared and provided to offer to them; and much Money
given to make them faſt Friends. By this means nothing
reſolv'd, or propoſed in the moſt ſecret Councils, that was
forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they
haved themſelves as haughtily and imperiouſly, as if they
their Army at hand to ſecond them. They took notice
the reſort of ſo many *Engliſh* to *Edenborough*, and that th
were many amongſt them who had been in Arms againſt
Parliament, and demanded "That they might either be
"niſhed that Kingdom, or deliver'd to them to be ſent to
"Parliament.

THEY were ſo clamorous in this Argument, and fo
ſo much countenance to their clamour, that they who had
vited the *Engliſh* thither, had not the Courage to own the
but adviſed them under-hand "To abſent themſelves from
"Town, till that ſtorm ſhould be over. And even Sr *Ma*
maduke Langdale, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, whom, over
above all the diſcourſes held with them at *London*, the *Sco*
Lords had ſent to confer with as they paſſed through
Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred w
them, and deſired them "To prepare all things with th
"Friends for the ſurpriſal of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, when
"Seaſon ſhould be Ripe, and that they would haſten th
"Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of danger
"impriſonment; even theſe Men were deſired, "Either
"withdraw again from *Edenborough*, or to keep their Cha
"bers there, and not to be ſeen abroad, until their Ar
"ſhould be raiſed, and ſuch a General made choice of as wo
"take care of their Protection. And they did not conc
from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke *Hamil*
ſhould be that General; who often conferr'd with them
private, and always aſſured them, "That whatever was,
"that place and ſeaſon, diſcourſed of the Covenant, wh
"was very neceſſary to bring their deſigns to paſs, he ſho
"be no ſooner inveſted in the Command his Friends deſig
"for him, than he would manifeſt his reſolution to joyn w
"the King's Party, upon the true Intereſt of the Crov
"without which he would hope for little ſucceſs in *Engla*
and he deſired them, "Though they ſaw little appearance
"of raiſing an Army which would be aſſoon finiſhed as
"gun, by the method they were accuſtom'd to uſe, that th
"would write very earneſtly to their Friends in *England*
"begin, aſſoon as might be, to execute the deſigns they h
"laid, in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could, up
"confidence that they ſhould receive relief before they co
"be oppreſſed. To the ſame purpoſe they writ to the Que
a

'and desired that the Prince might be in a readiness to be 'with them against the time their Army should be ready to 'march; which, they assured Her, should be by the begin-ning of *May*. All which several Advertisements, being com-municated in *England*, found a People too ready to give Cre-dit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than hey ought to have done: and yet they were hasten'd by such ccidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even neces-ary.

THE King, whilst he was at *Hampton* Court, when he oresaw that the Army would not comply with him, as he nce believ'd, and resolv'd to get themselves out of their ands, had, as is mention'd before, directed the Duke of *York*, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "That, when 'a fit opportunity should be offer'd, he should make his escape 'into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions 'of his Mother: and about this time, when so much Action as expected, which probably might produce many altera-ions, his Majesty in all places, found some way to advertise he Duke, "That it would be a very proper Season for him to make his escape. The Person who was entrusted to con-rive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and insi-uating Nature, and dextrous enough in bringing any thing o pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no elation to the King's Service; he had serv'd the King in the ate War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himself o well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the ther Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the resbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair ften to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Chil-ren were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

THE Duke and his Brother and Sister were then kept at t *James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park o walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and ther Persons of Condition, were not restrain'd from resorting nither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been some-imes there; and after he had inform'd the Duke what he as to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between hem, that he might not become suspected by being observ'd o speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be eady about the Custom House, and to have its Pass for *Hol-and*, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of n Evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs o the Garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; rom whence there was a door into the Park; where *Bam-eld* would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that

The escape of the Duke of York *be-yond Sea from St* James's.

the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other m
him, and led him preſently where a Coach was ready, and
carried him into a private Houſe; where he only ſtay'd wh
he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for hi
and preſently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a p
of Oars that was ready; ſo paſſed the Bridge, and went
Board the Veſſel that was ready to receive him; which imm
diately hoiſted Sail, and arriv'd ſafe in *Holland*, without a
Man of the Ship having the leaſt imagination what Freig
they carried.

THE Duke, aſſoon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodgi
reſolving no longer to uſe his Womans habit, ſtay'd there
he advertiſed his Siſter, the Princeſs Royal of *Orange*, of
Arrival; who quickly took care to provide all ſuch things
were neceſſary for his remove to the *Hague*; from whence
Queen was inform'd, and ſo knew aſſoon almoſt where
was, as ſhe did of his eſcape from *London*. The Prince
not yet ready for his remove, nor was it reſolv'd which
he ſhould go; ſo that it was thought beſt that the Duke ſhou
for the preſent, ſtay at the *Hague* with his Siſter, till farth
reſolutions might be taken; and though the Service wh
Bamfield had perform'd, was very well eſteem'd, yet th
thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, wo
be an ample recompence, and that it was neceſſary to pu
Perſon of a better Quality about his Highneſs, who mi
have a ſuperior Command over the other Servant; and
cauſe the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governour of
Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, ſecretly
tending the conjuncture to appear in Arms in a quarter aſſig
to him, Sr *John Berkley* was ſent by the Queen to wait up
the Duke, as Governour in the abſence of the Lord *Byr*
which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bring
the Man he hated of all Men living, to have the comma
over him.

Sr John Berkley made his Highneſs's Governour in the abſence of the Lord Byron.

THE Lord *Capel*, who was in the moſt ſecret part of
theſe Intrigues in *England*, being entirely truſted by th
who would not truſt any of the Presbyterians nor commu
cate their purpoſes to them, had written to the Chancellor
the Exchequer, who remain'd ſtill in *Jerſey*, the hopes he
of a good conjuncture, and his own reſolution to Embark hi
ſelf in that attempt, aſſoon as it ſhould be ripe; and had ſignif
the King's Command to him, "That aſſoon as the Chancel
"ſhould be required to wait upon the Prince, he ſhould wi
"out delay obey the Summons: and the King had likew
writ to the Queen very poſitively, "That when it ſhould
"neceſſary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Ch
"cellor ſhould have notice of it, and be required to give
attendar

attendance upon the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs, in the condition he had formerly done. About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always orreſponded with the Chancellor, and inform'd him of the tate of Affairs, and all that concern'd himſelf, writ to him, That all things were now ſo ripe, that he believ'd the Prince would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and there-upon conjur'd him that he would be ready, if he ſhould be ſent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his Highneſs; which, he ſaid, all the King's Friends exected he ſhould do; and which he was reſolv'd to do aſſoon the Prince ſhould be out of *France*, though he ſhould reeive no order or invitation ſo to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent for to the Prince from Jerſey.

ABOUT the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his lajeſty's Command, ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jerſey*, commanding, "That he would wait upon the Prince in the *Louvre* at *Paris*, upon a day that was paſt bere the Letter came to his hands. But he no ſooner reeiv'd the Summons, than he betook himſelf to the Journey, nd to tranſport himſelf into *Normandy*; where after he was nded, he made what haſte he could to *Caen*, ſuppoſing he ould there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him noce, "That he had receiv'd the ſame Command. When he me to *Caen*, he found the Secretary's Lady there, but himlf was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended ſtay there till the other ſhould arrive, and to conſult togeer there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Briol*, who had liv'd likewiſe at *Caen*, was gone with the Setary to *Roan*, having likewiſe receiv'd the ſame Summons ith the others to attend the Prince at the *Louvre*. The hancellor haſten'd to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cotngton*, who had ſtill the Title and Precedency of Lord High reaſurer of *England*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicolas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of s Arrival. They had receiv'd Advertiſement, the day bere, "That the Prince, with all his ſmall Train, was paſſed by towards *Calais*; and direction was ſent "That the Chancellor, whom they ſuppoſed to be on the way, and the reſt, ſhould ſtay at *Roan*, till they ſhould receive new Orders from *Calais*, where his Royal Highneſs would take new Meaſures what he was to do. So they ſtayed togther at *oan*, where there were at the ſame time very many *Engliſh* Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *ngland*, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and d brought ſomewhat with them for their ſupport abroad, l they might upon ſome good change return to their own ountry. In the mean time they liv'd very decently together

in that City; where they were well esteem'd. The way b
tween *Roan* and *Calais* was so dangerous without a very stro
Convoy, that no day passed without Robberies, and Murde
so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thenc
till they should receive a very particular direction from t
Prince; and within few days they receiv'd advice, "That t
The Prince went into Holland from Calais. "Prince had, assooon as he came to *Calais*, put himself
"board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, when
"they were to hear from him, how they should dispose
"themselves. Whereupon they all resolv'd to remove fro
Roan to *Diep*, from whence they might Embark themselv
for *Holland* if they saw cause; the ways by Land, in rega
that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Fie
being very dangerous.

The Revolt of part of the Fleet to the King from Rainsborough.

THE Prince's remove from *Paris* on such a suddain, pr
ceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraor
nary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliame
about this time had prepared, according to custom, a go
Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer Guard, and a
pointed *Rainsborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had be
bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander
Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the ne
Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was
Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell*'s chi
Confidents. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, a
disposed him to that inclination to concur with his Broth
lately mention'd. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much u
satisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienati
the Fleet, and the Affections of the Sea-men from the Kin
and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one
the Persons upon whom they principally rely'd at Se
Rainsborough, as long as he remain'd in the Navy, had be
under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well kne
that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, becau
they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influen
upon it; which made them sollicitous enough that the Se
men should not be well pleased with the Alteration; a
they looked upon *Rainsborough* as a Man that had forsak
them, and preferr'd the Land before the Sea Service. T
Sea-men are in a manner a Nation by themselves, a humou
rous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and resolute in wha
soever they are inclined to, somewhat unsteady and inconsta
in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom the
are govern'd to day. These Men, observing the general di
content of the People, and that, however the Parliament w
obey'd by the power of the Army, both Army and Parli
ment were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing
muc

much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be restored; and then remembring that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common Sea-men, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improv'd in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Sea-men by all the ways they could.

Commotions in Kent *for the King.*

AT this very time there appear'd generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Sea-men, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been design'd by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who design'd those Insurrections which happen'd in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good disposition in the Sea-men, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well Affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that Country, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolv'd to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolv'd and intended that the *Scotish* Army should be enter'd the Kingdom, by which the Parliament Army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believ'd that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their Country; so that what now fell out there, was by meer chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

THERE happen'd to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L' Estrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemn'd to die, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at Liberty,

berty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But h
retain'd his old Affections, and more remember'd the cru
uſage he had receiv'd, than that they had not proceeded
cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a gre
Friendſhip with a young Gentleman, Mr *Hales*, who liv'd
Kent, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fo
tune, he being Heir to one of the greateſt Fortunes of th
Country, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favo
of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the preſent kept t
young Couple from running into any Exceſs; the Mother
the Lady being of as ſour and ſtrict a Nature as the Gran
father, and both of them ſo much of the Parliament Part
that they were not willing any part of their Eſtates ſhould
hazarded for the King. At the Houſe of this Mr *Hales*, M
L' Eſtrange was, when by the Communication which that pa
of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lye in the *Down*
the report did firſt ariſe that the Fleet would preſently d
clare for the King, and thoſe Sea-men who came on Sho
talked as if the City of *London* would joyn with them. Th
drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wiſhed well,
viſit the Ships, and they return'd more confirm'd of the tru
of what they had heard. Good-fellowſhip was a Vice ſpre
every where, and this young great Heir, who had been a
ways bred among his Neighbours, affected that which th
were beſt pleaſed with, and ſo his Houſe was a Rendezvo
for thoſe who delighted in that Exerciſe, and who every da
brought him the News of the good inclinations in the Fle
for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the gener
hatred the whole Kingdom had againſt the Parliament as we
as the Army. Mr *L' Eſtrange* was a Man of a good Wit, an
a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterpriſing Nature. H
obſerv'd, by the good Company that came to the Houſe, th
the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country we
for the King. He began to tell Mr *Hales*, "That though h
"Grand-father did in his heart wiſh the King well, yet h
"carriage had been ſuch in his conjunction with the Parli
"ment, that he had more need of the King's favour than
"his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Eſtate; and th
"certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Gran
"father, or more glorious to him, than to be the Inſtru
"ment of both; and therefore adviſed him "To put himſe
"into the Head of his own Country, which would be willin
"to be led by him; that when the *Scots* were enter'd i
"to the Northern Parts, and all the Kingdom ſhould be i
"Arms, he might, with the Body of his Country-men
"march towards *London*; which would induce both th
"City and the Parliament to joyn with him, whereby h
"ſhoul

'ſhould have great ſhare in the Honour of reſtoring the 'King.

THE Company that frequented the Houſe thought the diſcourſe very reaſonable, and ſaw that the iſſue muſt be very honourable: The young Lady of the Houſe was full of Zeal or the King, and was willing her Husband ſhould be the Inſtrument of his delivery: The young Gentleman himſelf had not been enough converſant in the Affairs of the World to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and ſo referr'd himſelf and the whole Buſineſs to be govern'd, and conducted by Mr *L' Eſtrange*, whom they all believ'd by his diſcourſe to be an able Soldier. He writ ſome Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he was inform'd would receive them willingly, and ſign'd Warrants to the Conſtables of Hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, "In his Majeſty's Name, all 'Perſons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to adviſe 'together, and to lay hold on ſuch opportunities, as ſhould 'be offer'd for relieving the King, and delivering him out of 'Priſon. There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L'Eſtrange* appear'd with Mr *Hales*, and thoſe Perſons which had been uſed to their Company. Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſpoke to them in a ſtyle very much his own; and being not very clear to be underſtood, the more prevailed over them. He ſpake like a Man in Authority, inveighed againſt "The Tyranny of the Army, which "had ſubdued the Parliament, againſt their barbarous Impri-"ſonment of the King, and againſt a Conſpiracy they had to "Murder him. He added "That the Affections of that No-"ble Country were well known to his Majeſty, and that he "had therefore appointed the Fleet that was in the *Downs* to "joyn with them; and that he doubted not but they would "together be too ſtrong for his Enemies, who were like to "have enough to do to defend themſelves in many other "places; and that his Majeſty was willing they ſhould have "a Gentleman of their own Country, well known to them, "to be their General; and named Mr *Hales*; who was preſent. There was not one Man who ſo much as ask'd for any Letter or Commiſſion, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimouſly, declar'd "They "would be ready to joyn, and march as their General *Hales* "ſhould direct; and ſo another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and Liſting and Forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſet out ſuch Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought moſt like to prevail with the People, and requir'd "That they ſhould be read "in all Churches; which was done accordingly. The next

appearance was greater than the former; and with the ſam forwardneſs, many coming armed both Horſe and Foot, an ſhewing a marvellous allacrity to the Engagement. Their G neral than gave out his Commiſſions for ſeveral Regimen and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when ſhould come arm'd, and keep together in a Body, until ſhould be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Down* but it was as well known that it had abſolutely renounced th Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. was eaſy to perſwade the People, that they were gone upo ſome important Enterpriſe, and would ſpeedily return; an it was inſinuated, "That it was gone to the Iſle of *Wight* "releaſe the King, who would return with it into *Kent* which made them haſten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumber land* Admiral, he declared, and it was inſerted in his Com miſſion, "That he ſhould enjoy that Office during the Mino "rity of the Duke of *York*; and the Duke having made h eſcape at this time, when there was this Commotion among the Sea-men, it was no ſooner known that his Highneſs wa in *Holland*, but the Sea-men talked aloud "That they woul "go to their Admiral; and the Gentlemen of *Kent* ſtirrin them up and inflaming them to that Reſolution, and the Sea men again preſſing the Gentlemen to haſten their Riſing i Arms, that they might aſſiſt and ſecond each other, they both declared themſelves ſooner than they ought to hav done, and before they were prepared for an Enterpriſe of tha importance.

The Parliament was well inform'd of the diſtemper a mongſt the Sea-men, and had therefore forborne putting th half of the Proviſions aboard the Ships, which, for the greateſt part, lay ready in the *Downs*, wanting only half the Victual they were to have for the Summer Service. But thoſe Of ficers which were on board, finding they had no Authority and that the Sea-men mocked and laughed at them, ſent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they ſent *Rainsborough* and ſome other Officers thither; preſuming that the preſence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, aſſoon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a ſtrict Enquiry into the former Diſor ders and Mutinous behaviours, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortreſs of, One and All, and preſently laid hold on Him, and put Him, and ſuch other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and ſent them on Shore. Which was no ſooner known to the reſt of the

Rainsborough *and ſome other Officers put on Shore by the Sea-men.*

ıe Ships, but they follow'd their example, and uſed their)fficers in the ſame manner. After they had for ſome days een Feaſted and Careſſed by the People of *Kent*, ſome of the ientlemen putting themſelves on board to joyn with them, ıd in order to aſſiſt them towards providing ſuch neceſſaries : were wanting, they went out of the *Downs*, and ſtood for *'olland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their nchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentle- en of *Kent* on Shore, and the ſucceſs thereof, will be related reafter.

The revolted Ships went over to Holland.

THIS ſo very ſeaſonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjunure when ſo many Advantages were expected, was looked)on as a ſure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the port that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expect- ſome Body there, which was true, for ſome time, was e reaſon that it was thought fit that Prince (who had hierto thought of nothing but being ſent for by the *Scots*, and)w to find himſelf with them) ſhould make all poſſible haſte) *Calais*. This was the Cauſe of that his ſuddain motion, hich was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other ings neceſſary for his Journey. The Cardinal ſhew'd no anner of favouring all theſe Appearances of Advantage to the ing; he gave leſs countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever)ne when it was in Rebellion againſt the King; and, notithſtanding all his promiſes with reference to *Ireland*, the larquis of *Ormond* remain'd ſtill at *Paris*, without obtaining rms or Money in any proportion (both which had been)miſed ſo liberally) and was, after all importunities, com- elled to tranſport himſelf into *Ireland* (where he was ſo im-)rtunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, hich were expected. And now, when the remove of the :ince was ſo behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refuſed to furſh him with any Money; all which diſcountenances were ortly after remember'd to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

The Marquis of Ormond *goes out of* France *into* Ireland.

THE Prince's remove was by every Body thought ſo neſſary, that the Lord *Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means borrow ſo much Money as was neceſſary for the Journey; hich the King paid long after with full Intereſt. Dr *Goffe*, Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Conlent of my Lord *Jermyn*, was preſently ſent into *Holland*, to ſpoſe the Sea-men to be willing to receive the Lord *Jermyn* Command the Fleet. So Sollicitous that Noble Man was be in the head of any Action that was like to proſper, how ıfit ſoever he was for it; having neither induſtry, nor ıowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being leſs belov'd by e Sea-men than any Man that could be named. The Prince ade what haſte he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the

the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and some oth Gentlemen, besides his own Domesticks; and finding one the *English* Frigats before *Calais*, and understanding that t Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet Slu* and had put himself on board the Fleet there, his Highn presently embarked, and made the more haste left his Broth should be in Action before him, and was receiv'd at the Fle with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that Pe ple were accustom'd to; they having expressed as much so days before, at the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

The Prince is receiv'd at the Fleet.

Assoon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince *Wales* was arriv'd, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife t Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Hig ness the best that place would permit, but especially to joyce together, having not seen each other from the time th were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction a Disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt the Sr *John Berkley*'s coming to the *Hague* to assume the G vernment of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to Royal Highness, who was perswaded by Colonel *Bamfie* that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his tendance upon the King, to the Isle of *Wight*. The Color himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill a insinuation he had, to lessen his Highness reverence to t Queen, and to dispute her Commands. Then taking the o portunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet Sluce*, he we thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful Addr to the disposing Men to Mutiny, and to work upon Comm Men, which the Fleet consisted of, there being no Office for the most part, above the Quality of a Boat-Swaine or M sters-Mate, he perswaded them "To declare for the Du "of *York*, without any respect to the King or Prince; a "when his Highness should be on board, that they should n "meddle in the Quarrel between the King and the Parli "ment, but entirely joyn with the Presbyterian Party, a "the City of *London*; which by this means would bring t "Parliament to reason: And he prepared his Friends the Se men when the Duke should come to them, that they wou except against Sr *John Berkley*, and cause him to be dismisse and then he believ'd he should be able to govern both H Highness and the Fleet.

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

At the same time Dr *Goffe*, who was a dextrous Man to and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good-fe low-ship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Sea-me and made them jealous of *Bamfield*'s activity; and endeavour to perswade them "That they should all petition the Prin "who he knew, would be shortly with them) "That the Lo

"Ferm

'*Jermyn* might be made their Admiral; who would be able 'to ſupply them with Money, and whatſoever elſe they want-'ed: That there was no hope of Money but from *France*, 'and that the Lord *Jermyn* had all the Power and Credit 'there, and might have what Money he deſired; and by heſe Agitations the infant Loyalty of the Sea-men begun to e diſtracted.

A T the ſame time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had lways adher'd to the Presbyterians, and was of great eſteem mongſt them, though he was not tainted with their princi-les, had left the Parliament, and ſecretly Tranſported him-elf into *Holland*; and was arrived at *Roterdam*, when *Bam-ield* return'd from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke f *York* at the *Hague*. *Bamfield* deliver'd ſuch a Meſſage from he Fleet as he thought would haſten the Duke's Journey thi-her; and told him, "The Sea-men made great enquiry after 'the Lord *Willoughby*, and much longed to have him with 'them; inſinuating to the Duke, "That he had much contri-'buted to that good diſpoſition in the Sea-men, and was pri-'vy to their revolt, and had promiſed ſpeedily to come to 'them, and that it would be the moſt acceptable thing his 'Highneſs could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and 'make him his Vice-Admiral. The Duke made all imagin-ible haſte to *Helvoet Sluce*, and immediately went on board he Admiral; where he was receiv'd with the uſual marks of oy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed ſome other Officers in the ſe-veral Ships, and ſeem'd very deſirous to be out at Sea. In he mean time *Bamfield* continued his Activity; and the Do-ctor, finding he had little hope to raiſe his Patron to the neight he propoſed, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Bamfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince night be advertiſed of it; and thereupon haſten his own Jour-ney; which did likewiſe contribute to the haſte his Highneſs made. He arriv'd at *Helvoet Sluce* very ſeaſonably to prevent many inconveniencies, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Sea-men, upon his Highneſs's appearance, return'd again into their old chearful humour; which the Prince knew would be beſt preſerv'd by Action; and therefore exceedingly deſir'd to be at Sea, where he was ſure he muſt be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a ſhort time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Proviſions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a ſhort time procured in a reaſonable proportion; and then the Prince ſet ſail firſt for *Yarmouth* Road, then for the *Downs*; having ſent his Brother, the Duke of *York*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs *with the Fleet.*

THOUGH

THOUGH the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave t
Fleet, which he had been perſwaded to look upon as his Pr
vince, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reaſ
would not permit they ſhould both be ventur'd at one time
board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage h
own Perſon, he ſubmitted to the determination; and was w
content to remain with his Siſter. The Prince did not thi
fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was mu
relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge t
Duke had given him; though he was not much known to t
Sea-men. But Captain *Batten* coming at the ſame time wh
his Highneſs did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Conſtant Wa*
wick, one of the beſt Frigats the Parliament had built, wi
Jordan, and two or three Sea-men of good Command, h
Highneſs knighted him, and made him Rere-Admiral of t
Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular a
acceptable thing to the Sea-men, than by putting the ſa
Man, who had Commanded them ſo many years, over the
again at this time; whoſe experience and government wou
ſupply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, wh
was very willing to be adviſed by him. But the Prince ſho
ly after found he was miſtaken in that expedient, and th
the Sea-men (who deſired to ſerve the King upon the cle
principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in any degr
affect *Batten*, becauſe he had failed in both, and was no
of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The tru
is, the Prince came prepared and diſpoſed from the Quee
to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian Party, which, b
ſides the Power of the *Scotiſh* Army, which was every d
expected to Invade *England*, was thought to be poſſeſſed
all the ſtrength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Co*
pepper, and Mr *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were truſted
the Queen to keep the Prince ſteady and faſt to that depe
dence; and his Highneſs was injoyn'd to be entirely adviſ
by them; though all the other Lords about him were
another mind, and the Prince himſelf not inclined that wa
Dr *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chappel, whom his M
jeſty had recommended to his Son to inſtruct him in all ma
ters relating to the Church, and Dr *Earles*, and the reſt
his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent tho
Infuſions. But, by thoſe two, the benefit of this Fleet w
principally conſider'd, as a happy means to put the Prince
Shore, that he might be in the Head of the *Scotiſh* Army; a
no doubt if that Army had been then enter'd into *England*,
it was very ſhorty after, the Prince would have been directe
with the Fleet, "To have follow'd all the advice which ſhou
"have been ſent from the *Scots*.

I

In the mean time it was thought moſt Counſellable, after he Prince had Sailed ſome days about the Coaſt, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highneſs was there, hat they ſhould all go into the River of *Thames*, and lye till there; by which they expected two great Advantages; irſt, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare it ſelf, when they ſaw all their Trade obſtructed; and that their Ships omewards bound, of which at that Seaſon of the year, they xpected many, muſt fall into the Prince's hands; and then, hat the preſence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Sea-men; and from ſetting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under he Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought t, in this exigent, again to imploy; and who, by accepting he Charge, thought he ſhould be in a better poſture to chooſe is Party, in any other alteration that ſhould happen at Land. *Thence into the River of* Thames.

When the Parliament firſt heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and ſaw the Warrants which were ſent out and ſign'd by *L' Eſtrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who ſat in the Parliament, aſſured them, "That there "was no ſuch Gentleman in that County, and Sr *Edward Hales*, who likewiſe was preſent there, told them, "He was "very confident that his Grandſon could not be Embarked in "ſuch an Affair) they neglected it, and thought it a deſign o amuſe them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and ſaw the Declarations which were publiſh'd, and were well aſſured that young *Hales* appear'd with hem as their General, they thought the matter worth their are; and therefore appointed their General, "To ſend two "or three Troops of Horſe into *Kent* to ſuppreſs that ſeditious Inſurrection; Sr *Edward Hales* now excuſing himſelf with revilings, threats, and deteſtation of his Grandſon; who he proteſted, ſhould never be his Heir.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commiſſion to be General, and the reſt who were engaged, were not yet ready, he *Scots* being not yet enter'd; nor did they underſtand any hing of the buſineſs of *Kent*; however when they were aſſured that they were drawn into a Body, and were ſo ſtrong hat the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been ſent to ſuppreſs them, had ſent to the Parliament word, "That "they durſt not advance, for that the Enemy was much ſtronger "than they, and increaſed daily; and that they had ſent a "Letter to the City of *London* inviting them to joyn with "them; the Earl of *Holland* I ſay, and the others with him, thought it fit to ſend them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon diſpatched thoſe Officers who had been deſign'd for the Troops of that County, when the

the Seaſon ſhould be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked p
vately in *London* to avoid ſuſpicion. They were deſired
call their Friends together, aſſoon as was poſſible, to jo
with their Neighbours; and were told "That they ſhou
"very ſhortly receive a General from the King: for they
not think Mr *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Pow
and Credit to grow leſs, the greater the appearance grew
be; and they begun to enquire for the King's Commiſſio
The Earl of *Holland* had form'd his Party of many Offic
who had ſerv'd both the King and the Parliament; all wh
were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call th
together, but to expect the appearance of their Northe
Friends, and therefore conſulting with the reſt, and findi
the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been ſome Months in *Engla*
under a Paſs from the Parliament (upon pretence of maki
his compoſition, from which he had never been exclude
willing to engage himſelf in the Conduct of thoſe in *Ke*
where he was well known and belov'd, his Affections and Z
for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they reſol
that he ſhould go thither; and there being many blank Co
miſſions ready to be diſpoſed as the Service ſhould requi
they filled one with His name, by which the Command of
Kent was committed to him, "With power to lead them a
"whither as the good of the King's Service ſhould make
"quiſite. And with this Commiſſion he made haſte into *Ke*
and found at *Maidſtone* a better Body of Horſe and Fo
arm'd than could have been expected; enough in number
have met any Army that was like to be brought againſt the
They all receiv'd him with wonderful Acclamations, a
vowed obedience to him. Mr *Hales* upon the News of a
other General to be ſent thither, and upon the ſtorms of thre
and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on t
one ſide, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other ſid
and upon the Conſcience that he was not equal to the Charg
though his Affection was not in the leaſt declined, fou
means to Tranſport himſelf, and Wife, together with
Friend Mr *L' Eſtrange* who had loſt his Credit with the Pe
ple, into *Holland*; reſolving, aſſoon as he had put his W
out of the reach of her Mother, to return himſelf, and
venture his Perſon in the Service which he could not Conduc
which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

THE importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyteria
their Correſpondent, the fame of Sr *Marmaduke Langdal*
being well receiv'd at *Edenborough*, and that many *Engli*
Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but eſpecially t
promiſes from *Paris* of Supplies of Arms, Ammunition, a
Money, aſſoon as they could expect it, ſet all the oth
whee

wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South *Wales* Colonel *Laughorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had serv'd from the beginning: the first of them a Gentleman of a good Extration, and a fair Fortune in Land in those Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, when he had Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the King: the second was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raised himself in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and stout Officer and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, especially Colonel *Mitton*, were preferr'd before them; and resolv'd to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Laughorn*, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober Resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determin'd, and of what their wants consisted, which if not reliev'd, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Assurance that they should in time receive those Supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyn* sent him a promise under his hand, "That he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the Enemy; and therefore conjur'd him, and his Friends, "forthwith to declare for the King; which he assured them would be of singular benefit, and advantage to his Majesty's Service; since upon the first notice of their having declared, the *Scotish* Army would be ready to march into *England*. Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not supplied with Provisions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

THE Lord *Byron* had been sent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in several places, as might distract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement against them; to dispose his old friends about *Chester* and North *Wales* to appear assoon as might

might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Robi son*, possessed himself of the Island of *Anglesey*, and disposed all North *Wales* to be ready to declare assoon as the *Scots* should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most Importance, and seem'd already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly serv'd the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders receiv'd from him since, when he believ'd the *Scots* would be in a short time ready to begin the March) surprised the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *York-shire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surprise of *Pontfret*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragick conclusion of that Enterprise. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

INDEED as to the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be general of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes; but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old and appear'd in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honour against the *English*, except assisted by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had perform'd in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always receiv'd some Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was proposed, as a fit Man to be employ'd to redeem the Honour of

the

he Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General nder the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declin'd he imployment, was Major General under him; and therefore ould not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

WHILST this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s, and Sr *Philip Musgrave*'s being in the own, and of some discourses which they had used, or some ther *English* Officers in their Company, and desired, "That, if they were to have any Command in the Army, they might presently take the Covenant; and that there might be a general Declaration, that there should be neither Officer nor Soldier receiv'd into their Army, before he had first taken the Covenant; and that, after they were enter'd into the Kingdom of *England*, they should make no conjunction with any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same. This proposal found no opposition; ey who were most forward to raise the Army for the deli- ry of the King, being as violent as any to advance that De- aration. And though Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *aurick* did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as ey did foresee, out of the long experience they had of *Eng- nd*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet ey had not the Courage in any degree to speak against it; d the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* re as passionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* him- f; and seem'd to think that those two Gentlemen either had eady taken, or would be willing to take it.

IT can hardly be believ'd, that, after so long knowledge *England*, and their observation of whom the King's Party d consist, after their so often conferences with the King thout prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to pre- ve himself at *New-Castle* from being deliver'd up to the Par- ment, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to con- it to or promise, "That any Man should be compell'd to ake the Covenant; that they should still adhere to that fa- Combination against the Church, which they could never pe to bring to pass, except they intended only to change hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, en they should get him into Their hands, as he was under domination of the Parliament and Army: yet they were infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their prehension of the King's Party, and design'd no less to op- ss Them than the Independents, and Anabaptists; and on the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament the King, the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other places, and general inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the

King, they ſlacken'd their preparations, that they might defe their March, to the end that all that ſtrength might be o preſſed and reduced, that ſo they might be abſolute Maſte after they had prevailed over the Army. And at laſt, whe they could defer their March no longer, upon the importu nate preſſure of their Friends in *London*, they ſent the Ea of *Lautherdale* with thoſe inſolent inſtructions, which will b mention'd anon, and poſitively required the Prince immed ately to repair to them; declaring, "That if his Perſon ſhou "not be forthwith in their Army, they would return aga "into *Scotland* without making any attempt; and the knov ing this reſolution, was the reaſon that the Queen was ſo p ſitive in her Inſtructions, notwithſtanding the appearance any other Advantage to the King in *England*.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sr *Philip Muſgrave* no ſoon heard of this Declaration, than they went to thoſe Lords, ar expoſtulated very ſharply with them, for "Having broke "their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; whe "they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Anſwer "that they muſt give over their deſign to redeem the Kin "or yield to this determination, which their Parliament w "ſo firm and united in; and would never depart from. An therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importu nity, that they would take the Covenant; ſome of them d ſiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to ſatis them, that the Covenant did not include thoſe things in which they thought it did. But when they ſaw thoſe Ge tlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contra they reſolv'd preſently to leave the Country; and told the "They would undeceive thoſe honeſt People in *England*, wh "were too much inclined to truſt them; and that they ſhou "find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagine the *Scotiſh* Lords knew well enough of what importance the preſence was to be to them, for their very entrance in *England*; and thereupon deſir'd them, "That they would ha "a little patience, and again abſent themſelves from *Ede* "*borough*, till the heat of this diſpute was over, and till t "Army ſhould be ready to march; and Duke *Hamilton*, wh had a marvellous inſinuation to get himſelf believ'd, aſſure them in confidence, "That aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf "the head of his Army, and upon their march, there ſhou "be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King's Frien "ſhould be welcome, and without diſtinction. So they le *Edenborough* again, and went to their old Quarters; whe they had not ſtayed long, before the Duke ſent for them come to him in private; and, after a very chearful receptio he told them, "He was now ready; and that their Friends

"*Engla*

England called so importunately for them, that he was resolv'd to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the Friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two Places.

THE work was not hard to be perform'd by them, they ving, from their first entrance into *Scotland*, adjusted with eir Friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for at enterprise when they should be called upon; which they en believ'd would have been much sooner; so that they ere willing to undertake it, and demanded Commissions om the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himlf for not giving, under pretence of "The secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring to pass, and not His Commission; for which those Towns would have no reverence. Besides, he ld them, "That the Marquis of *Argyle* had still protested against their beginning the War by any Act of Hostility against the *English*, in forcing any of the Towns; which was not necessary in order to the King's deliverance; but that an Army might march to the place where the King was, to the end that those Messengers who were sent by the State to speak with the King, might have liberty to speak with his Majesty; which was a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the Pacification between the two Kingdoms.

THIS Argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which d prevail with him not to give those Commissions they de'ed, which otherwise might have been given with the same crecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, The rder against giving any Commission to any Man before he id taken the Covenant; and how much Authority soever e Duke might take upon him to dispense with that Order ter he should be in *England*, it might not be convenient that e should assume it whilst he remain'd yet at *Edenborough*: ie other was, that, when they had done it without his Comiission, he might, upon his March, or assoon as he came thier, dispossess them of the Government, and put *Scots*-men ito their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to em; but confessed "That, though the Council of *Scotland*,

"would not attempt the taking of those Towns, yet whe
"They should be taken, they would expect the Governmer
"thereof should be in Their hands, and depend upon Them
"without which they should not be able to send him those cor
"tinual Supplies which he expected from them. And there be
ing then a recruit of five or six thousand, which Sr *Georg*
Monroe had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, wh
were to begin their March after him, assoon as he should b
out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remair
ing in those Governments, well knowing that their presenc
would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stay
ed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was fc
the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands c
the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of thos
Parts would declare themselves, how well affected soeve
they were; which when they had offer'd to the Duke, the
left it to him, and accepted the imployment he pressed ther
to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in bot
places at one time, all things being concerted between ther
to that purpose.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* had several Officers, and Sol
diers, laid privately on the *Scotish* side to wait his Commands
and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Fa
milies within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were we
affected and ready to appear when they should be required
in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Som
of them Sr *Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scotis*
side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Nigh
before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in th
Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Marke
place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter
The next Morning, being Market day, when great droves o
little Horses, laden with sacks of Corn, always resorted t
the Town, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundre
Horse, and some few Foot which walked with the Marke
People, presently after Sun rising, was upon the Bridge, be
fore there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends ther
whom he expected, he caused the Bridge presently to b
drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to th
other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into th
Market place, where he found his Country Friends ready t
do all he would Command. There was so general a conster
nation seised upon the whole Town, there being no othe
Garrison but Towns-men, that after they had seised upon th
Mayor, who was the Governour, all things were in a short
time so quiet, that they open'd their Ports again, that the
Market might not be interrupted. Sr *Philip Musgrave*, with
a

Sr M. Langdale *surprises* Berwick, *and* Sr P. Musgrave Carlile *soon after.*

little oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carliſle*; where he had greater Intereſt; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more diſinclined to the *Scots* than thoſe of *Berwick* uſed to be; and they both haſten'd advertiſement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wonder'd at, that after *Cromwell* plainly ſaw they ſhould have a War with *Scotland*, and had conſtant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garriſons into thoſe two important places, the very ſtrength of which could for ſome time have withſtood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought againſt them. But the ſame reaſon which had been current at *Edenborough* to this very time, had prevail'd at *Weſtminſter*. It was ſpecially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms Combined againſt the King, "That there ſhould be no more Garriſons kept on either ſide in *Berwick* or *Carliſle*; where they were then diſbanded, and ſome of their Fortifications ſlighted; which could eaſily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for ſome time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be ſent thither, that the *Scots* might not pretend that the War was begun by them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themſelves againſt the *Scots* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had ſo perfect a contempt of the whole ſtrength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever poſſeſſed.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sr *Philip Muſgrave* were no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, reſorted and flock'd to them well Arm'd, appointed, and provided for the War; ſo that they had not only very ſufficient Garriſons to keep thoſe places, but Troops enough of Horſe to free the adjacent Counties from thoſe Forces, and Committees, and other Perſons, who were either publickly engaged in, or well known privately to wiſh well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*; and ſoon after Sr *Philip Muſgrave* ſurpriſed *Carliſle*, about eight of the Clock at Night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; ſo that the Citizens were in confuſion, and made little reſiſtance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he ſhould require them; he having aſſured them, "That the King had

"promiſed, under his hand, that thoſe two Towns ſhould
"deliver'd into the poſſeſſion of the *Scots*; which it m
needs be ſuppoſed that they ſhould firſt take from the Parli
ment, in whoſe poſſeſſions they were both when the King ſign
the Engagement at *Carisbrook* Caſtle. And the Duke h
not only refuſed to give them any Men, or other Aſſiſtan
towards the taking them, but, as hath been ſaid, would n
grant them his Commiſſion to perform it; pretending "Th
"he durſt not do it, becauſe they were bound not to beg
"the War: only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternit
promiſed "to ſend five hundred Muſquets, and ten Barrels
"Powder to each Garriſon; and that their whole Army ſhou
"march into *England* within twenty days; and that, if th
"were ſooner in diſtreſs, they ſhould be ſure to be reliev'd.

BUT after he heard that both places were poſſeſſed by ther
he deferr'd not to ſend a Governour and Garriſon to recei
Berwick; to whom Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* deliver'd it a
cording to his promiſe; and was requir'd "To march with
"the *Engliſh* to the parts adjacent to *Carliſle*, and there
"increaſe his Troops to what Numbers he could, with wh
"expedition was poſſible; which he perform'd ſo effectuall
that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Hea
within five Miles of *Carliſle*, where he Muſter'd above thre
thouſand Foot well Arm'd, and ſeven hundred Horſe not
well Arm'd; all which were raiſed in *Cumberland*, and *Weſ
moreland*, over and above the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which ye
remain'd under Sr *Philip Muſgrave*; and, within two day
five hundred Horſe, very well appointed, came out of *York
ſhire* the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts; ſ
that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* reſolv'd preſently to march int
Lancaſhire, to reduce thoſe who were for the Parliament there
which he could eaſily have done, the Lord *Byron* being read
upon the Borders of *Cheſhire* to have joyn'd with him. Bu
this quick advance and progreſs towards an Army, was no
well look'd upon at *Edenborough*; and an Expreſs was di
patch'd with poſitive Orders to Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* "No
"to Engage or Fight with the Enemy, upon what advantag
"ſoever, until the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould come up. And where
ever that Expreſs ſhould overtake Sr *Marmaduke*, he was im
mediately to retire with his Forces near *Carliſle*; which h
obey'd aſſoon as he receiv'd the Order, and when he migh
have march'd againſt *Lambert*; who was ſent before with
leſs ſtrength than Sr *Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in al
probability would have been defeated.

BUT, as if this had not been diſcouragement enough, withir
one or two days after that Expreſs, Letters were ſent from the
Council in *Scotland*, by which Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* wa
very

very severely reprehended, "For receiving Papists into his 'Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations 'which he had publish'd; and told, "That he should receive 'no Assistance from Them, except the Covenant was em-'braced by all his Army. This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the Engagements they had received from the *Scotish* Lords, both by words and Letters, 'that they should never be troubled with any such motions, 'after they were once upon *English* ground; and that then 'they should proceed upon those Grounds as were like to 'bring in most Men to their Assistance; that Sr *Marmaduke* prevail'd with Sr *Philip Musgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edenborough*, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Resolution to the Lords there.

Sir *Philip Musgrave*, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to joyn with them, carried a list with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compell'd to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the Sequestration to be taken from their Estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake in the places where they liv'd; with which the *Scots* were in some degree mitigated, but seem'd to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole Army.

In the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a strong Body of Horse and Foot, advanced upon Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being enjoyn'd not to fight, was forced to retire to *Carlisle*, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter block'd up on one side, whilst he sent Letter upon Letter to the Duke "To hasten his March, or to send some Troops to his As-"sistance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy. *Lambert marches against them.*

The Earl of *Norwich* had found the Assembly at *Maidstone* very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without Government, nor easy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into Jealousies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Persons, nor to enquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which imply'd that many Men wish'd they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn such a Body together by his frolick and pleasant humour, which reconciled People of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always *The Earl of Norwich at Maidstone with the Kentish Forces.*

liv'd in the Court in such a station of business as raised him very few Enemies; and his pleasant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at least made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any Body else, he was very like if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown Master of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exercise the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to please every Man, and comply with every Bodies humour; which was quickly discover'd; and so Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that *Fairfax* himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the Affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised "That they might re-"tire beyond *Rochester*, and by breaking down the Bridge "there, and Fortifying another Pass or two, which was easy "to be done, they might keep the Enemy from entring into "the East of *Kent* (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous County) "Longer than they would be "able to continue the attempt, for fear of being inclosed by "an Enemy at their back, if the City of *London*, or those of "*Essex*, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for "the King; and by this means they might be sure of a cor-"respondence with the Fleet; of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in some Authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

MANY were the more perswaded that the Fleet was gone to the Isle of *Wight* for the rescue of the King, because those Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the Enemy at a Bay for some time. But other Men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that *Fairfax* could have leisure to look after them; they "were confident that the Parliament had so many Enemies "to look after, those in *Wales* growing strong, and having "beaten the Party that had been sent against them; and the "Officers in the North, who had seised upon *Pontfret* Castle "in *York-shire*, and had drawn in a strong Garrison from the "part adjacent, had a Body of Horse, that infested all those "parts; and the *Scots* were upon their march for *England*; "and

and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at leisure to visit them: The retiring would be an Argument of fear, which would dishearten their Friends at *London*, and all those of that part of *Kent*, which must be deserted upon their Retreat, would desert them, assoon as that resolution should be known; and therefore they desired, "That they might all march towards *Black-Heath*; which would raise the Spirits of their Friends, and many would resort every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected.

THE Noise for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Norch* himself was thereby sway'd to be of that opinion; and they resolv'd to advance, and a short day was appointed r a general Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*; and Orders ere sent out accordingly. *The Kentish Army marches towards Black-Heath.*

THE disturbance in so many places made the resolution of e General now to be known, which had been hitherto refully concealed, "That *Fairfax* himself was not willing to march against the *Scots*; which was not now Counsellable r him to do. *Cromwell* was very willing to take that Prorice to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the *ots*, that he was willing to march with a much lesser Numr than he well knew the *Scotish* Army to consist of; and beg inform'd which way the *Scots* resolv'd to enter the Kingm, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced meet them, assoon as they should be enter'd, with those roops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed e Risings in South *Wales* by taking of *Pembroke* Castle, d making Prisoners therein *Laughorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, e heads of that Insurrection, and not troubling himself with *mfret* Castle, which he thought would not be of great conquence, if the *Scots* were subdued. *Cromwell advances against the Scots:*

FAIRFAX, with a numerous part of the Army, remain'd and about *London* to suppress the Insurrection in *Kent*, and itch any other which should fall out in the City or thereouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all e power of *Scotland*. And so when the Parliament was vertised by their Troops which were first sent, that they ere too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl *Norwich* was declar'd General of the *Kentish* Troops, and is marching in the Head of them towards *Black-Heath*, *irfax* drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and arch'd over *London* Bridge to meet the Men of *Kent* at *lack-Heath*, and to stop their march to *London*. The Earl is now advanced so far, and *Fairfax* advanced too fast to t the former Counsel in practice, of breaking down the idges, and keeping the Passes, and they who had opposed *Fairfax against the Kentish Men.*

that

that Counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought th were now too far. The Country-men were weary of bei all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of t Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so th they who remain'd, had no reason to believe themselves eq to the power that march'd towards them, and yet there we more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flyir and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanc the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, t ing hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to *Rochest* others to *Maidstone*. Those at *Maidstone* had a sharp E counter with the General's whole strength, and Fought ve bravely, but were at last defeated. In the mean time t Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with t Party at *Rochester*, quitted that place, march'd back towa *London*, in hope still of the City's joyning with them. E that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be soon in th Rear, the Earl and those who remain'd, and design'd to r the utmost hazard, resolv'd to pass themselves and their Hor by such Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and do the River, over into *Essex*, where they knew they had ma Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not v them in some days. So they made a shift to transport the selves to the number of near a thousand Men, Horse and Foo whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd t King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Famili who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of Norwich, *and some Forces, transport themselves into* Essex; *and fix in* Colchester.

THEY found many Persons in *Essex* ready to joyn w them, who came sooner together than they intended, up the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purposed to have pas over into *Kent* to have joyn'd with, and assisted those w had so frankly appear'd for the King, if they had not be prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There w the brave Lord *Capel*, Sr *William Compton*, Sr *Charles Luc* Sr *George Lisle*, all excellent Officers. There was Sr *Be nard Gascoign*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To th joyn'd Colonel *Farr*; who had serv'd the Parliament, a was a known Creature and Confident of the Earl of *Warwick* and had at that time the Command of *Languard Point*, a F of importance upon the Sea; so that when they were come together, with those who came from *Kent*, they ma a Body of above three thousand Horse and Foot, with C ficers enough to have form'd and commanded a very go Army.

THEY well knew *Fairfax* would quickly visit them, a therefore they chose to post themselves in *Colchester*, a gr a

ınd populous Town, which though unfortified, they caſt up uch works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear o be forced by any Aſſault; and reſolv'd to expect a Conunction with other of their Friends; and were in great hopes hat the *Scotiſh* Army, which they heard was upon its march, vould be with them before they could be diſtreſſed.

THEY had ſcarce put themſelves and the Town, which vas not glad of their company, into any order, before *Fairfax* ame upon them; who made no ſtay in *Kent*, after he heard vhat was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; ut left two or three Troops of Horſe to ſettle that County vith the aſſiſtance of their Committees, who had been driven rom thence, and returning now Victorious, knew well enough ow to deal with thoſe who had revolted from them. When e came firſt before *Colcheſter*, and ſaw it without any Forti- cations, he thought preſently to have enter'd the Town with is Army; but he found ſo rude reſiſtance, that by the adice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the Geeral as well as the Army, he reſolv'd to encompaſs it with is Troops, and without hazarding the loſs of Men to block hem up, till Famine ſhould reduce them; and diſpoſed his rmy accordingly; which quickly ſtopped up all Paſſages by vhich either Men or Proviſions ſhould get into the Town; hough by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters vere often beaten up, and many Valiant Men were loſt on oth ſides. *Fairfax beſieges them.*

THE Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable chearfulneſs, ubmitted to the Command of the Prince, was not ſo active s it was expected it ſhould be; and was very much the worſe or the Factions, and Diviſions, which were amongſt thoſe who attended upon the Prince; who according to their ſeeral humours, endeavour'd to work upon the Sea-men; a eople capable of any impreſſion, but not very retentive of it. rince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, pon many old conteſts in the late War, love the Lord *Colepper*, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and here was one, who had the greateſt influence on Prince *Rupert*, *Herbert* the Atturney General, that of all Men living vas moſt diſpoſed to make diſcord and diſagreement between Men; all his faculties being reſolv'd into a ſpirit of contraicting, diſputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was ropoſed. He having no title or pretence to interpoſe in Councils, and yet there being no ſecret in the Debates there, ound it eaſy to infuſe into Prince *Rupert*, who totally reſign'd imſelf to his Advice, ſuch Arguments as might diſturb any reſolution: and there were ſo many who were angry that ey were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords *Piercy*, *Wilmot*, *Factions in the Prince's Fleet.*

Wilmot, and *Wentworth*, that it was no hard matter to get a thing disliked that was resolv'd there. They had all that missions and countenance from the Prince, that they had much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any wh elſe. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that somewhat sho be attempted upon the Coast, which might have caused so Sea Towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for King; which seem'd not a design that would bear a reas able discourse. But Action was a very grateful word to Sea-men, and they who opposed any thing that tended tow it, were look'd upon with great jealousy and prejudice. the Prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his Instructi at *Paris*, not to engage himself in any thing that might div him from being ready at the minute when the *Scots* sho call for his presence; and they expected the first intimat of that from *London*; from whence they had the assurance ready, that Duke *Hamilton* was enter'd into the Kingd with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was t generally thought true, though they fell far short of number.

WHEN the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea fr *Helvoet Sluee*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterd* and laden with Cloth by the Company of Merchant Adv turers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks ing Seal'd up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; whi

It enters the River of Thames; takes several Ships.

at their Enterance into the River of *Thames*, took many ot Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all V sels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India S richly laden, and the more welcome because the Ship it was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man War, and the Captain thereof was a Sea-man of Coura and *Experience*, and was very well inclined to serve the Kin and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then tak had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goo would have mounted to so great a Sum, as might have co tervailed a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as would have been very difficult to have found such a sec Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, s was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, a were still pursued, for his Royal Highness's proceedings. T City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imag able, and that was so alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the Riv and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially t Cloth Ship, that there was a general consternation amongst t People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themsel to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to t

Fle

'leet to procure a releaſe of that Ship; and if that could not e brought to paſs, that they might buy it at as good rate as ney could get it. Which was the introducing ſuch a Com-nerce and Correſpondence between the Fleet and the City, n ſuch a conjuncture of jealouſy, that moſt Men believ'd the 'arliament would never have hearken'd to it; and concluded, 'om their granting it, that there was another ſort of Treaſure ncloſed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant dventurers; and that many of thoſe who granted that indul-ence to that City, had more Money on board that Veſſel than ne Cloath was worth, though the value thereof amounted to o leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

Commiſſioners ſent to the Prince from the City with a Petition.

UPON this liberty granted by the Parliament, a Committee vas ſent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of *Wales*, That he would reſtore the Ship which belonged to his Fa-ther's good Subjects. With theſe Men came Letters from ome of thoſe who were well known to be very ſollicitous at nat time for the advancement of the King's Service, and pri-y to the Treaty with the *Scots*, and whatever was intended y the Earl of *Holland*: The Counteſs of *Carliſle*, who was ruſted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence vith the Queen, truſted Mr *Lowe*, who was imployed by the City in this Negotiation, to ſay many things to the Prince of he good inclinations of the City, and how neceſſary it was ot to irritate it. And he brought other Letters, and Teſti-nonies to give him credit, as a Man truſted by all who in-ended to ſerve the King, who had with wonderful Addreſs ot him to be one of thoſe imployed by the City, that he night under that ſecurity, give ſuch Animadverſions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was neceſſary. He was a Man ntelligent enough of the ſpirit and humour of the City, and very converſant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was truſted by the Presbyterian Party, is a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to inſi-nuate himſelf into many of the King's Party, which did be-ieve him fit to be truſted in any thing that might concern hem. But he was a Man of ſo voluble a Tongue, and ſo everlaſting a Talker, and ſo undertaking and vain, that no ſo-ber Man could be impoſed upon by him.

The Prince writes to the City.

UPON the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long Letter to the City, and incloſed in it a Declaration, for the publiſhing of both which in Print care was taken, the ſub-ſtance of which was, "The great affection he bore to the City, "and the proſperity thereof; the whole being in ſuch a Style as might beſt pleaſe the Presbyterians, with leſs care than hould have been uſed to preſerve the Zeal of the King's Party; and deſiring "That they would joyn with him for the delivery

"of

"of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good "understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament "which his Highness desired with all imaginable concern "ment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship released without a good Sum of Money which the Prince told them "Was absolutely necessary for the "payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loan "from them, and repay it when a Peace should be made. Some of them return'd to *London*, and the rest remain'd with the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince received Advertisement of the *Scots* continuing their march, and that those who were inclosed in *Colchester*, were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the Earl of *Holland* being ready to declare assoon as their pressures should require it. After near a Months negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloth Ship was deliver'd to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides Cloth in the Body of it; for which there was not any Search suffer'd to be made.

WHILST the Prince lay in the *Downs*, there was an Enterprise necessary to be made on Shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for *Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-Houses, or Castles, which are nearest the *Downs*, and had left some Sea-men in them, with sufficient Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should return. The Prince found these Block-Houses besieged, and receiv'd Intelligence out of them, that their Provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them, consisted more in Horse than Foot; and at high Tyde the Boats might go so near, that there seem'd little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Sea-men, having nothing else to do offer'd to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Sea-men to undertake the business, but it had no good issue the Tyde was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagined, and the Horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses a-

laſt

ſt came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of :tle inconvenience to the Prince, thoſe Forts being of very nall importance to do any prejudice, yet there were ſome ſreputation in it; and it diſcredited the deſigns, which had ot yet appear'd very proſperous in any place; and any acceſs f good Fortune raiſed the Spirits of the Parliament's Party, ho eaſily were perſwaded to think it greater than it was, in time when they lay under ſome Mortification.

The Parliament prepares a Fleet againſt the revolted Fleet, under Command of the Earl of Warwick.

By this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament f more and better Ships than had revolted, and the Com- and thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly :cepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tyde as come within ſight of the Prince; and there dropped An- ior. So that both Fleets lay within that diſtance of each :her, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle;) which there ſeem'd all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was ot well mann'd, and that many were put on board who had ore affection for the King; which they would manifeſt hen they came within diſtance: but whether that fancy was om Imagination or Intelligence, it ſeem'd to have no foun- ation in truth.

The Prince writes to the Earl of Warwick. *His Anſwer.*

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appear'd reſolute and repared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, hat the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the arl of *Holland*, and had promiſed to joyn with him. And herefore it was thought fit, that the Prince ſhould write to ne Earl to ſummon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was ſent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly return'd with n Anſwer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, umbly beſought his Highneſs "To put himſelf into the hands "of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might ſub- "mit to their Obedience; upon which they ſhould be par- "doned for their Revolt.

Though this might well have ſatisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevail'd with, that Mr *Crofts* might give the Earl a viſit; who, having more acquain- ance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endea- vour'd, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* return'd as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them toge- :her, which coming fair for the Prince, he reſolv'd to attack them. All Anchors were weigh'd, and preparations made to advance to the Aſſault, the whole Fleet being under Sail to- wards the other; which ſeem'd equally reſolv'd and diſpoſed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, com- pell'd them a little to retire, where the River was ſomewhat narrower.

narrower. In an instant the Wind ceased, and there wa Calm; so that the Prince could not advance; and some dou arose, upon the narrowing of the River, as if some of Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this d beration the Wind rose again, but from another Quart which was directly in the Prince's Face; and would not su him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new c sultations; great want of Provisions was discover'd to be the Fleet, insomuch as that they should not be able to sta Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want sooner, therefore since the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind stood, co not be compell'd to Fight, and they were in danger to be streſſed for Provisions, it was thought most Counsellable to to Sea; where they could more commodiously engage i Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance; and if he not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince mi meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmo* to joyn with the Earl, and which might easily be surprised taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much superior to th in strength.

The Prince went to Sea towards Holland, *after having attempted to Fight the Earl of* Warwick.

At this time the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd in a Ship fr *Scotland*; and having left Duke *Hamilton* upon his march wards *Berwick*, he was sent to demand the performance the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair that Army. This confirm'd the Prince in the purpose of p ting out to Sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry t Fleet first into *Holland*, before he could transport him into t Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and co tinued their course for *Holland*, with hope still to meet wi those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth*. And me with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew n till the Morning; when one put the fault upon another; a it was now necessary to make all possible haste to *Hollan* since by the conjunction with these Ships, besides all oth Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become superior the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his Ship which appear'd by his coming before *Helvoet Sluce*, within fe days after the Prince's arrival there.

The Earl of Warwick *follows him towards* Holland.

Duke Hamilton *enters* England *about the middle of* July.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* e ter'd into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carlis* and immediately took that Government from Sr *Philip Mu grave*, and drew out all the *English* Garrison, and put *Scots* their place. And after some few days stay there, the *Engli* and *Scotish* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to th part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quarter'd: and they had continued their March, as they ought to have don

The Duke's march.

is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. ut the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles ſhort; and *Lambert*, in the ſame Night, marched from thence in great iſorder and confuſion to the edge of *York-ſhire*. The Duke eſted many days, that all his Forces might come up, which ame ſlowly out of *Scotland*. Aſſoon as they were come up, e march'd to *Kendal*; where he reſted again ſeveral days; ne reaſon whereof no body could imagine. It was ſuſpected was, that thoſe Forces, which were up in ſeveral parts of the ingdom for the King, might undergo ſome defeat, that they ight not be ſo united, as to controul or obſtruct the Presbyrian deſign. For after that Army was enter'd into *England*, moved, as hath been ſaid, by ſuch very ſlow Marches, and negligently, and with ſo little apprehenſion of an Enemy, nd it was Quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that the head Quarter was very often twenty Miles diſtant from ſome part f the Army; the Duke himſelf performing no part of the ofce of a General, but taking his eaſe, and being wholly goern'd by the Lieutenant General of the Army, and two or hree other Officers.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *Engliſh*, conſiſting of near four thouſand Foot, and ſeven or eight undred Horſe, always a day before the Army; by which ey intended to have timely Advertiſement of the Enemies otion, and likewiſe meant that he ſhould bear the firſt brunt f them, deſiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the midle of *Auguſt*, when Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertiſed the Duke by an Expreſs, "That he had receiv'd unqueſtionable Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days march, and reſolv'd to engage his Army aſſoon as poſſibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the People's gathering together at any diſtance from him, in what poſture ſoever; and therefore deſir'd his Grace, "That he would keep his Army cloſe together; for they could not be far aſunder with any ſecurity; and declared, "That he himſelf would reſt, and wait the advance of the Enemy, and then retire back as he ſhould find it neceſſary.

Sr M. Langdale *a day before him.*

THE Duke, notwithſtanding this Advertiſement, reformed not the Order of his march in any degree, but was perſwaded "That the Enemy could not be ſo near; and that, if *Cromwell* was advanced to ſuch a diſtance, it was only with ſuch a Party, as he would not preſume to engage with their whole Army. In this confidence, he marched as he had one before. Sr *Marmaduke* ſent him every day advice that confirm'd the former, "And that his Horſe had encounter'd ſome of the Enemy, and that their whole Body was at hand; but

Sr M. Langdale *gives him an Account of the* Engliſh *Army.*

"but that it was true, it was not a Body equal in number
"their Army, yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to joyn Ba
"tle with him. All this gain'd not credit, till Sr *Marmadu*
himſelf, making his retreat with very ſharp Skirmiſhes, in whi
many Men fell on both ſides, was purſued into the he
Quarters of the Duke; where he likewiſe brought with hi
ſome Priſoners, who averr'd, that the whole Body of t
Army was within five or ſix Miles, and marched as faſt
they were able.

THE Duke was confounded with the Intelligence, a
knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and th
part that was about him, was without any order, and ma
no ſhew of any purpoſe to Fight. In this Amazement, t
Duke ſtayed himſelf with ſome Officers at *Preſton*; and cauſ
his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march t
wards *Wiggan*, a Town in *Lancaſhire*, where he ſhould as
thought, find ſome Regiments, and where they might ma
ſome ſtand till the reſt ſhould come up. In the mean tin
Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* return'd to his Troops, the Duke h
ving promiſed to ſend him ſome Troops to aſſiſt, and that ſon
Foot ſhould be ſent to keep a Lane, that would Flank his M
upon his retreat. Sr *Marmaduke* retired before the Enem
and drew up his Troops in the Cloſes near *Preſton*. T
Enemy followed him cloſe, and preſſed him very hard; nc
withſtanding which he maintained the diſpute for above f
hours with great Courage, and with very great loſs to t
Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; inſomuch as th
ſeem'd to retire, at leaſt to make a ſtand. And in all this tin
the *Scots* ſent him no Aſſiſtance, but concluded that it was n
Cromwell's whole Army that Aſſaulted him, but only ſon
Party, which he would himſelf be well enough able to diſe
gage himſelf from. And Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* told me c
ten afterwards, "That he verily believ'd, if one thouſand Fo
"had then been ſent to him, he ſhould have gained the da
and *Cromwell* himſelf acknowledged, that he never ſaw Fo
Fight ſo deſperately as They did.

Sr M. Langdale *Fights, and is beaten; and Duke* Hamilton *routed.*

THE *Scots* continued their march over the Bridge, witho
taking care to ſecure the Lane, which he had recommend
to them: by which *Cromwell*'s Horſe came upon his Flan
whilſt he was equally preſſed in the Van. So that his exc
lent Body of Foot being broken, Sr *Marmaduke*, and ſuch
his Horſe as kept together, were driven into the Town; whe
the Duke remain'd yet with ſome Officers; who all retreat
over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal diſorder. F
aſſoon as the *Engliſh* Forces were broken, the *Scots* were pr
ſently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very diſorder
march. However the Duke had ſtill a great part of his ov
Arn

Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wiggan*; thence to *Warrington*; where *Baily* capitulated, and deliver'd up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at laſt to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scotiſh* Noblemen forſook him, and render'd themſelves Priſoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell's* Troops under *Lambert*, preſſed ſo hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Priſoners as they pleaſed, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was ſcarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no reſiſtance, were beaten in upon him, and ſo cloſe purſued by *Cromwell's* Horſe under *Lambert*, that himſelf and all the principal Officers (ſome few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes, made their eſcape) were taken Priſoners: the Duke neither behaving himſelf like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all ſubmiſſions, and all excuſes to thoſe who took him. *The Duke taken.*

THUS his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deſerv'd it by any oppoſition; the reſt taken Priſoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colours; only ſome of their Horſe, which had ben Quarter'd moſt backward, made haſte to carry news to their Country of the ill ſucceſs of their Arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the moſt part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horſe that purſued them; whereof Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with ſome of his Officers and Soldiers, who ſtood with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, had the ill fortune to be diſcover'd; and ſo was taken Priſoner, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminiſhed half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *Engliſh* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated. *Sr M. Langdale taken.*

IT may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many miſadventures; which detain'd them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. Aſſoon as they heard that his Highneſs had put himſelf on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they Embarked at *Diepe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arriv'd, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who inform'd them, "That the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the *Downs*, "and that he had ſent him with a Letter to the Marſhal *Ran-*"*zaw*, who was Governour of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigat

"of him; which he had there, and had by some civil Mes-
sage offer'd to lend to his Highness; and the Marshal, who
receiv'd them with great civility, assured them that the Friga
should be ready the next day, and if they pleased to make us
of it, should carry them to the Prince.

THEY look'd upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the *Downs*, and so being Master at Sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that Frigat, and set Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk*, presuming that they should, the next Morning, find themselves in the *Downs* with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven Frigats of *Ostend*. In short, they were taken Prisoners, and plunder'd of all they had (which amounted to good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Ostend*, where though they were presently at liberty, they were compell'd to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the *Spanish* Governour, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, the brutish People, the Free-booters, being subject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happen'd, and that they would attend his Command at *Flushing*; whither they easily went. Within few days after the Prince, out of the *Downs*, sent a Frigat for them to *Flushing*; where they embark'd several times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds sometimes into *Flushing*, sometimes to *Ramikins*; and so were compelled to go to *Middleborough*, and after a Months stay in those places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they receiv'd Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had resolv'd to go, assoon as the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had deliver'd his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scotish* Army; which was then enter'd into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet Sluce*.

The Prince comes to the Hague.

THE Prince was receiv'd by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge

charge: his Royal Highneſs every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princeſs lay, and where both his Royal Highneſs and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princeſs Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himſelf keeping his own Table open, according to cuſtom for the reſort of ſuch of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Perſons, who frequently repaired thither.

Diviſions among the Prince of Wales's Court.

THE Prince of *Wales*'s Court was full of Faction, and Animoſity againſt each other, ſo that the new comers were not only very well receiv'd by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Councellors there, believ'd that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Atturney General came to them, and congratulated their Arrival, and told them "How much they had been "wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Com-"pany. And within a very ſhort time after, Prince *Rupert* himſelf came to bid them welcome, with all poſſible grace, and profeſſion of great kindneſs and eſteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly againſt the whole adminiſtration of the Fleet, in which moſt part of the Court, which had been preſent, and who agreed in nothing elſe, concurr'd with them.

THE whole clamour was againſt the Lord *Colepepper*, and Sr *Robert Long*, the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly ſubſervient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accuſed them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloth Ship, but to the releaſe of very many other Ships, which they had diſcharged upon no other reaſon, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much diſcourſe of Money brought to both their Cabins by Mr *Lowe*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having ſome infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never abſolv'd from any thing of which any Man accuſed him; and the other was ſo notoriouſly inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with, and had been releaſed for little or no Money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it eaſily believ'd that ſuch unthrifty Counſel could not have been given, except by thoſe who were well rewarded for it; which ſtill fell upon thoſe two.

THERE was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain ſo

long idle at the mouth of the River, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they might in the consternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King; *Carisbrooke* being near the Sea, a Castle not strong in it self, the Island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answer'd.

THEY were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the River; which, they said, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not diswaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the Sea-men joyn'd with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate Men gave him a good Testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him of passing by the Ships which came from *Portsmouth*, in the Night, was not so well answer'd: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was inform'd of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a Night Engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Assistance, before they could have master'd them; there being two or three of the best Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardize, of which the Sea-men, as well as the Courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought without reason, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and because he was a Man of a regular and orderly course of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Atturney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unquestionable Courage, and Industry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

THIS

THIS State the Court was in, when the two lately men-on'd Counſellors came; who quickly diſcern'd, by the un-eady humours, and ſtrong paſſions all Men were poſſeſſed ith, that they ſhould not preſerve the Reputation they eem'd to have with every Body for the preſent, any long me, and foreſaw that neceſſity would preſently break in up-n them like an Arm'd Man, that would diſturb and diſtract ll their Counſels. And there was, even at the inſtant in vhich they arriv'd at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertiſement of hat Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army, which muſt break all their neaſures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the vhole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King is Father in the utmoſt deſpair.

THE Rumour of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next lay after the Prince came thither, but not ſo particularly that he extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet hroughly underſtood. And his Highneſs appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, ie inform'd them of the Lord *Lautherdale*'s Meſſage to him rom the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earneſtly preſſed him, even ſince the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highneſs thought fit, that the Earl ſhould give an Account of his Commiſſion at the Board; whereupon he was ſent for in; and, that all reſpect might be ſhew'd to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allow'd him to ſit upon.

HE firſt read his Commiſſion from the Parliament, and then the Letter which the Parliament, had writ to the Prince; in which, having, at large magnified the great Affection of the Parliament, "That out of their native, and conſtant Af-"fection and Duty to their King, and finding that, contrary "to the Duty of Subjects, his Majeſty was impriſon'd by the "Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they had "raiſed an Army in that Kingdom, that ſince their Advice, "Counſel, and Entreaty in an amicable way, could not pre-"vail, might by force redeem his Majeſty's Perſon from that "captivity; which they held themſelves obliged by their ſo-"lemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the "hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this Army was "already enter'd into *England*, under the Command of *James* "Duke *Hamilton*, whom, in reſpect of his known and emi-"nent fidelity to his Majeſty, they had made General thereof; "and having now done all that was in their power to do for "the preſent, and having taken due care for the ſeaſonable "ſupply and recruit of that Army, they now ſent to his High-"neſs, that he would with all poſſible ſpeed, according to

The Letter of the Parliament of Scotland to the Prince.

"the promise which the King his Father had made, transpor
"his Royal Person, that he might himself be in the head o
"that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father; and the
desir'd him, "That for the circumstances of his Journey h
"would be advised by the Earl of *Lautherdale*, to whom the
"had given full Instructions; and they besought his Highnes
"to give credit to him in all things.

THE Earl likewise shew'd his Instructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly* Men should be suffer'd to be about the Person of his Highness; and particularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some other Persons should be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would lose no time from entring upon his Journey; and all this with as insolent, and supercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

Deliberation in the Prince's Council about it.

WHEN he had said all he meant to say, he sate still, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "That, if he "had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that "the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave "their advice to the Prince. He took this motion very ill, and said "He was a Privy Counceller to the King in *Scotland*, "and being likewise a Commissioner from the Parliament, "he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that con- "cern'd the Affair upon which he was imployed. This he urged in so imperious, and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where they had often differ'd in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustom'd to. He told him, "He meant not to say any thing "in that Debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desir'd should be conceal'd from him, or unheard by him; "and that he was ready to say, that in his judgment, all "he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not "that the Dignity of the Board should be prostituted to his "Demand, nor that he should be present there at any Debate. The Earl replied, "That he was sent by the Parliament, and "Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he "did protest against having any thing he proposed to be "treated, and debated by, or before the *English* Board; nor "did he consider what was, or should be said, by any Man "but

but the Prince himself. The Prince told him, "It was ne-
ceſſary that he himſelf ſhould hear, and know what the
opinion of the Council ſhould be; and that it was as un-
reaſonable that He ſhould be preſent; and thereupon com-
anded him to withdraw; which he preſently ſubmitted to
ith indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "That
here were ſome Perſons come to the Town, the laſt night,
who came out of *England* after the News of the Victory
over the *Scots* came to *London*, with all the circumſtances
hereof; and of the Duke's being taken Priſoner; and that
e Prince of *Orange* had told him, "That the States had re-
ceiv'd Intelligence of it from their Embaſſadour *Newport*,
who reſided in *London*. Upon the whole matter, the Prince
olv'd "To meet again the next Morning to conſult farther
what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean time,
he Intelligence would be more perfect, and unqueſtionable,
nd they ſhould ſee whether *Lautherdale* would take any
otice of it.

BUT the Night made no alteration in him; he appear'd
e next morning with the ſame confidence, and the ſame im-
rtunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey.
e was ask'd, "Whether he had receiv'd no Information of
ome ill Fortune, that had befallen that Army, which might
o change the caſe ſince he left *Scotland*, that what might
hen have been fit, would be Now unfit and uncounſel-
ble? The Earl ſaid, "He knew well what the News was
rom *England*; and whatever he hoped, that he was not con-
ident it was not true; however he hoped, that would not
hange the Prince's purpoſe, but that it would more con-
ern him to purſue the reſolution he was formerly obliged
o; that if any misfortune had befallen that Army, the Prince
ad the more reaſon to endeavour to repair it; which could
e done no other way, than by his making all poſſible haſte
nto *Scotland*; which remain'd ſtill a Kingdom entire whol-
y devoted to his Service; and that, by the benefit of his
reſence, might quickly draw together another Army, to-
vards which there was a good beginning already by the pre-
ervation of that Body under *Monroe*: That if his Highneſs
hould decline this only probable way to preſerve Himſelf,
nd to recover his other two Kingdoms, it would be thought
e had little zeal for the Liberty of his Father, and as little
or his own Intereſt, and for the preſervation of the Crown;
e therefore beſought his Highneſs, that he would cauſe
ome of his Ships to be forthwith made ready, and would
herein immediately Tranſport himſelf into *Scotland*; where-
y the late wound would, in a ſhort time, be healed; which
ould otherwiſe prove incurable."

BUT

BUT *Scotland* was ſo well known, and the power of *A*
gyle (which muſt be now greater than ever by the total defe
of the contrary Party) that his Propoſition was by all diſp
ſionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to
hearken'd to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* w
march'd into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirm'd eve
honeſt Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl
Lautherdale ſeem'd rather to think of going thither himſe
where his own Concernments were in great danger, than
preſſing the Prince to ſo hazardous a Voyage; and after a fe
Weeks more ſtay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from
Friends in *Scotland*, how Affairs went there, he return'd thith
in the ſame Ship that Tranſported him from thence, with
much Rage and Malice againſt the Council about the Prin
as againſt *Cromwell* himſelf.

The Earl of Lauther-dale *returns into* Scot-land.

THE Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army at *Preſton*, though it w
not at firſt believ'd to be an entire Victory over their wh
Body, there being double that number that was not there
that march'd from thence, broke or diſappointed moſt of t
deſigns which were on foot for raiſing Men, in thoſe North
Counties, for the King's Service, to have joyn'd and unit
under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*. Sr *Thomas Tildeſley*, a Gent
man of a fair Eſtate, who had ſerv'd the King from the l
ginning of the War with good Courage, was then with
Body of *Engliſh*, with which he had Beſieged the Caſtle
Lancaſter, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when t
News of *Preſton* arriv'd. It was then neceſſary to quit th
deſign; and hearing that Major General *Monroe*, who, ſhor
after the Duke march'd out of *Scotland*, follow'd him w
a Recruit of above ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot, was come
the skirts of *Lancaſhire*, he retired thither to him, having
ther'd up many of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s Men, who h
been broken at *Preſton*, and ſome others who had been nev
Levied. Sr *Thomas Tildeſley* moved *Monroe*, "That his Forc
"and ſome Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remain'd about *K*
"*dal*, might joyn with the *Engliſh* under his Command, a
"march together towards *Preſton*, and follow *Cromwell* in t
"Rear, as He purſued the *Scots*: which they might very w
have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of abo
eight thouſand Men; which was equal in number to the *A*
my under *Cromwell*. But the Major General would not co
ſent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of *Weſtmo*
land; and the *Engliſh* follow'd them in the Rear: pre
ming, that though they would not be perſwaded to advance
ter *Cromwell*, yet that they would chooſe ſome other mo
convenient Poſt to make a ſtand in, if the Enemy follov
them; and then that they would be glad to joyn with the

Sir Tho. Tildeſley *retires to* Monroe.

which he was preſſed again the next day, but continued
l faſt in his Sullen Reſolution, without declaring what he
ant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had
: a ſad remembrance of his having paſſed that way a few
/s before, having then raiſed vaſt ſums of Money upon the
or People, and now in his retreat plunder'd almoſt all they
l left.

THE *Engliſh* march'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to
n with ſuch new Levies as were then raiſing there; and
ir number being encreaſed by the addition of thoſe Troops
ich were under the Command of Sr *Henry Bellingham*,
y met again Major General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and
ir'd him "That they might unite together againſt the
ommon Enemy, who equally deſir'd the deſtruction of
nem both. But he reſolutely refuſed, and told them plainly,
nat he would march directly into *Scotland* and expect Or-
ers there; which he did, with all poſſible Expedition.

Monroe having enter'd England upon Hamilton's Defeat retreats towards Scotland.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* believ'd that he and his Foot might
welcome to *Carliſle*; and went thither; and ſent Sr *Henry*
llingham, Sr *Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Chater*, to the
l of *Laurick*, and offer'd that they ſhould carry their Troops
o *Scotland* to joyn with him; who he knew well would
id in need of help. But he durſt not accept their Motion,
ing, "If he ſhould, *Argyle* would from thence take an ex-
uſe to invite *Cromwell*; who they heard was then upon his
rch towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: up-
which Sr *Henry Bellingham* return'd with the Party he
mmanded into *Cumberland*, paying for all they had through
t part of *Scotland* it was neceſſary for them to paſs through.

Sr Philip Muſgrave to Carliſle.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* had no better ſucceſs with Sr *William*
vingſton, the Governour of *Carliſle*; for though he receiv'd
n very civilly, and enter'd into a Treaty with him (for
knew well enough that he was not able to Victual, or De-
d the place without the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and there-
e deſir'd the aſſiſtance of Sr *Philip* in both) yet when Ar-
es were agreed upon, and ſign'd by Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, the
vernour fell back, and refuſed to engage himſelf "Not to
eliver up the Garriſon without the conſent of Sr *Philip*
Muſgrave; who was contented that none of his Men ſhould
ne within the Walls, until it ſhould be moſt apparent, that
y could no longer keep the Field.

WITHIN a ſhort time after, Orders was ſent out of *Scot-*
d for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to the Parliament;
which Orders there was not the leaſt mention of making
nditions for the *Engliſh*. Sr *Philip Muſgrave* had yet *Apleby*
tle in his own poſſeſſion, having taken it after he had de-
r'd *Carliſle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was march'd
from

Berwick and Carliſle deliver'd to the Parliament.

from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery o up, which could not long have made any defence, he ma Conditions for himſelf, and one hundred and fifty Office many of them Gentlemen of Quality who liv'd again to v ture, and ſome, to loſe their Lives for the King: after whi he ſoon Tranſported himſelf into *Holland*.

CROMWELL reſolv'd to loſe no advantage he had got, l aſſoon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, gathering up as many Priſoners, as he could, of the diſper Troops, he march'd directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up Roots there, from which any farther trouble might ſpr hereafter; though he was very earneſtly called upon fr *York ſhire* to reduce thoſe at *Pontfret* Caſtle; which grew v troubleſome to all their Neighbours; and not ſatisfied w drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they m Excurſions into places at a great diſtance, and took divers ſ ſtantial Men Priſoners, and carried them to the Caſtle; wh they remain'd till they redeem'd themſelves by great R ſoms. However, he would not defer his Northern mar but believing, that he ſhould be in a ſhort time capable take Vengeance upon thoſe Affronts, he ſatisfied himſel ſending Colonel *Rainsborough*, with ſome Troops of H and Foot, to reſtrain their adventures, and to keep th block'd up; and himſelf, with the reſt of his Army contin their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *Auguſt*, beginning of *September*, before the Harveſt of that Cour was yet ripe; and ſo capable of being deſtroy'd.

Cromwell *marches into* Scotland.

IT was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Ar* earneſtly invited him to this Progreſs; for the Defeat of *Scotiſh* Army in *England* had not yet enough made him l ſter of *Scotland*. There was ſtill a Committee of Parliam ſitting at *Edenborough*, in which, and in the Council, the l of *Laurick* ſway'd without a Rival; and the Troops wh had been raiſed under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Du Army, were ſtill together, and at the Earl's devotion; ſo the Marquis was ſtill upon his good behaviour. If he did invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and m all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome upon his entring i the Kingdom. They made great ſhews of being mutually ſ to ſee each other, being linked together by many prom and profeſſions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

THERE was no Act of Hoſtility committed; *Cromwell* claring, "That he came with his Army to preſerve the G "Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it "under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Natio "break the Friendſhip with their Brethren of *England*, "had been ſo faithful to them: That it having pleaſed

to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd to engage the two Nations in each others Blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove those from Authority who had used their power so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament of *England*; which did not desire in any degree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges. He was conducted to *Edenborough* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, where he was receiv'd with all solemnity, and the respect due the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quarter'd out, and supplied with all Provisions the Country could yield. *He is receiv'd at Edenborough.*

THE Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remain'd at *Edenborough* were resolv'd to obey *Argyle*; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the power of the *English*; which would have been a great discredit to their Government. Whilst he remain'd their Guest (whom they entertain'd magnificently) *Argyle* thought himself able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament sent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Disband his Troops; which when he seem'd resolv'd not to do; he quickly discern'd that *Cromwell* must be Arbitrator; and thereupon he observ'd the Orders of the Committee very punctually: so that there was no Power in Scotland that could oppose the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magistrates of *Edenborough*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in Prison, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives against the Sinfulness of the late Engagement, and solemn Fasts enjoyn'd by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and Forgiveness for that heinous Transgression; the Chancellor *Lowden* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submission with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all things with his bosome Friend *Argyle* (who resolv'd assoon, as he was withdrawn a distance from *Edenborough*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do) he return'd for *England*; where he thought his Presence was like to be wanted. *The Committee of the Scottish Parliament order Monroe to Disband.* *Cromwell returns for England.*

THE

THE Committee of Parliament at *Edenborough* (who h
Authority to convene the Parliament when the Major part
them should please; care being taken in the nomination
them, that they were such as were thought most like to p
sue the way they were enter'd into) sent out their Summ
to call the Parliament. They who appear'd, were of anot
mind from what they had been formerly, and with the sa
Passion and Zeal with which they had enter'd into the
gagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly;
the Assembly joyning with them, they Excommunicated
who had the most eminent Parts in the promoting it;
made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, o
sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those v
had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would
ever make them subject to their Government. By th
judgments, amongst others, the Earl of *Lanrick* was depri
of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferr'd
on the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rel
lion, had been employ'd by the Conspirators into *France*,
coming afterwards into *England* was Imprison'd thereup
and being after set at liberty, continued amongst those w
upon all occasions, carried the Rebellion highest, and shev
the most implacable malice to the Person of the King. A
by this time *Argyle* was become so much more Master
Scotland than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that he had not
much as the shadow of a Parliament to contend, or to com
with, or a necessity to exercise his known great Talent of
simulation, all Men doing as he enjoyn'd them, without
ing the reason of his direction.

The Scotish Parliament, being called, condemn Duke Hamilton's Engagement.

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *Engla*
when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Ken*
and *Essex* Troops were inclosed in *Colchester*, their Frie
could not reasonably hope that the *Scotish* Army, which
so long deferr'd their March into *England*, contrary to th
promise, would, though they were now come in, march
enough to relieve *Colchester* before they should be reduced
Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it necessary, si
many who were in *Colchester*, had engaged themselves u
His promises and Authority, now to begin his Enterprise.
which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingh*
who was General of the Horse, the Lord *Francis Villiers*
Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, spurr'd him
And he might have the better opinion of his Interest and I
ty, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself i
Arms for the relief of *Colchester*, was so far from being a
cret, that it was the common discourse of the Town. Th
was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging,
th

The Earl of Holland Rises; goes to Kingston.

ıoſe Officers who were known to have ſerv'd the King; his Commiſſions ſhew'd in many hands; no queſtion being more ommonly asked, than "When doth my Lord *Holland* go out? nd the Anſwer was, "Such and ſuch a day; and the hour he id take Horſe, when he was accompanied by an hundred lorſe from his Houſe, was publickly talked of two or three ays before.

His firſt Rendezvous was at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; where e ſtayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great ſort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common Men, ho had promiſed, and liſted themſelves under ſeveral Offiers; and he imputed the ſecurity he had enjoyed ſo long, otwithſtanding his purpoſe was ſo generally known, to the pprehenſion both the Parliament and the Army had of the ffections of the City to joyn with him; and he believ'd, that e ſhould not only remain ſecure at *Kingſton*, as long as he ould think fit to ſtay there, but that ſome entire Regiments the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colcſter*.

During the ſhort ſtay he made at *Kingſton*, ſome Offiers and Soldiers, both of Horſe and Foot, came thither, and any Perſons of Honour and Quality, in their Coaches, came viſit him and his Company from *London*; and return'd ither again to provide what was ſtill wanting, and reſolv'd be with him ſoon enough. The principal Officer the Earl lied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a *Dutch*an of Name and reputation, and good experience in War; ho had ſerv'd the Parliament as Commiſſary General of the orſe under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and having been left out in e new model, was amongſt thoſe diſcontented Officers who oked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which ey deſpiſed for their ill breeding and much preaching. Thus *albeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who ought himſelf likewiſe happy in ſuch an Officer. The keepg good Guards, and ſending out Parties towards the *Kenh* parts, where it was known ſome Troops remain'd ſince e laſt Commotion there, was committed to His care. But : diſcharged it ſo ill, or his orders were ſo ill obſerv'd, that e ſecond or third Morning after their coming to *Kingſton*, me of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of olonel *Rich*'s Horſe, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *onſuch*; and beat, and purſued them into *Kingſton*, before oſe within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl id moſt of the reſt making too much haſte out of Town, and ever offering to Charge thoſe Troops. In this confuſion the ord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty and comelineſs of erſon, endeavouring to make reſiſtance, was unfortunately killed,

Is routed there:

kill'd, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the Foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some Officers until they found means to retire to their close Mansion in *London*. The Earl with near an hundred Horse (the rest wholly taking the way to *London*, where they were never inquired after) wander'd without purpose, or design, and was, two three days after, beset in an Inn at St *Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, by those few Horse who pursued him, being joyn'd with some Troops of Colonel *Scroop*'s; where the Earl delivered himself Prisoner to the Officer without resistance; yet at the same time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm Digby*, the eldest Son of Sr *Kenelm* were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offer'd to defend themselves, was not known: and the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped, and had found a way into *London*; where he lay conceal'd, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being Transported into *Holland*; where the Prince was; who receiv'd him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of *Holland* remain'd Prisoner the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was sent to *Warwick* Castle, where he was kept Prisoner with great strictness.

Escapes to St Neots, where he is taken.

THE total defeat of the *Scotish* Army lately mention'd preceded this, and when those Noble Persons within *Colchester* were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect being pressed with want of all kind of Victual, and had eaten near all their Horses. They sent therefore to *Fairfax* to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reasonable conditions, but he refused to treat, or give any condition that they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common Soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within, propos'd "To make a brisk Sally; and thereby to shift for themselves "as many as could. But they had too few Horse, and the Foot that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterprize. Then, "That they should open a Port, and every Man go "with their Arms in their hands; but that way they could "only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their Adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up Prisoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the publick Hall of the Town; where they were locked up, and a strong Guard set upon them. They were requir'd presently to send a list of all their Names to the General; which they did; and, within a short time after a Guard was sent to bring Sr *Charles Lucas*, and Sr *George Lisle* and Sr *Bernard Gascoigne* to the General, being safe with

Colchester deliver'd.

Cou

ouncil of War. They were carried in, and in a very ſhort ſcourſe told, "That after ſo long and ſo obſtinate a defence until they found it neceſſary to deliver themſelves up to mercy, it was neceſſary, for the example of others, and that the Peace of the Kingdom might be no more diſturbed in that manner, that ſome Military juſtice ſhould be executed; and therefore, that Council had determin'd they three ſhould be preſently ſhot to death; for which they were adviſed to epare themſelves; and without conſidering, or hearing hat they had a mind to ſay for themſelves, they were led into Yard thereby; where they found three Files of Muſqueteers ady for their diſpatch.

SIR *Bernard Gaſcoigne* was a Gentleman of *Florence*; and d ſerv'd the King in the War, and afterwards remain'd in *ondon* till the unhappy adventure of *Colcheſter*, and then ac-mpanied his Friends thither; and had only *Engliſh* enough make himſelf underſtood, that he deſired a Pen and Ink d Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great ake, that his Highneſs might know in what manner he loſt ; Life, to the end his Heirs might poſſeſs his Eſtate. The ficer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the eneral and Council, without which he durſt not allow him n and Ink, which he thought he might reaſonably demand: hen they were inform'd of it, they thought it a matter orthy ſome conſideration; they had choſen him out of the ſt for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *Engliſh* Gentle-an; and preferr'd him for being a Knight, that they might crifice three of that Rank.

THIS delay brought the News of this bloody reſolution to e Priſoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with ; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, their Guard, to carry a Letter, ſign'd by the chief Perſons d Officers, and in the name of the reſt, to the General; in ich they took notice of that Judgment, and deſir'd him Either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all who were equally guilty with thoſe three, undergo the ſame Sentence with Them. The Letter was deliver'd, but had other effect than the ſending to the Officer to diſpatch his rder, reſerving the *Italian* to the laſt. Sr *Charles Lucas* was eir firſt work; who fell dead; upon which Sr *George Liſle* to him, embraced, and kiſſed him; and then ſtood up, d looked thoſe who were to execute him in the face; and nking they ſtood at too great a diſtance, ſpake to them to me nearer; to which one of them ſaid, "I'le warrant you, Sir, Wee'l hit you: he Anſwer'd ſmiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have miſs'd me. Thereupon, ey all fired upon him, and did their work home, ſo that he

Sr Ch. Lucas *and* *Sr* George Liſle *ſhot to death.*

fell down dead of many wounds without ſpeaking a wor
Sr *Bernard Gaſcoign* had his doublet off, and expected the ne
turn; but the Officer told him "He had order to carry hi
"back to his Friends; which at that time was very indifferer
to him. The Council of War had conſider'd, that if the
ſhould in this manner have taken the Life of a Forreigner, wh
ſeem'd to be a Perſon of Quality, their Friends or Childre
who ſhould viſit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generation
and therefore they commanded the Officer, "When the oth
"two ſhould be dead, to carry him back again to the oth
"Priſoners.

Their Character.

THE Two who were thus murder'd, were Men of gre
name and eſteem in the War; the one being held as good
Commander of Horſe, and the other of Foot, as the Natio
had; but of very different tempers and humours. *Lucas* w
the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both
the Honour and Eſtate, and had a preſent Fortune of his ow
He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince
Orange, and always amongſt the Horſe. He had little conve
ſation in that Court, where great civility was practiſed, an
learned. He was very brave in his Perſon; and in a day
Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at a
other times and places, of a nature ſcarce to be liv'd with,
no good underſtanding, of a rough and proud humour, an
very moroſe converſation; yet they all deſired to accompan
him in his death. *Liſle* was a Gentleman who had had th
ſame Education with the other, and at the ſame time an Off
cer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led h
Men to a Battle with ſuch an Alacrity, that no Man was ev
better followed, his Soldiers never forſaking him; and th
Party which he commanded, never left any thing undon
which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceneſs of Cou
rage he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle nature imaginable
was kind to all, and belov'd of all, and without a Capacity t
have an Enemy.

THE manner of taking the Lives of theſe worthy Men wa
new, and without Example, and concluded by moſt Men t
be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, wh
ſwayed the General, and was upon all occaſions of an unme
ciful and bloody Nature. Aſſoon as this bloody Sacrifice wa
ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief Officers, went to the Towe
Houſe to viſit the Priſoners; and the General (who was an i
Orator in the moſt plauſible occaſion) applied with his civ
lity to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, ſeem
ing in ſome degree to excuſe the having done that, which h
ſaid "The Military juſtice required, he told them, "That a
"the Lives of the reſt were ſafe; and that they ſhould be we
"treatec

treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct. The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "That they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *Peter*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he receiv'd order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windsor* Castle; where they had afterwards the society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each others misfortunes and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

THOUGH the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entring into any more dangerous Engagements, at least all their People might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recover'd new spirits for new undertakings; and seem'd always to have observ'd somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appear'd resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Counsels. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common Council deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, "That they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; which could be hoped for no other way. This was the first resumption that had been offer'd, since their Vote of no more addresses to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seem'd to be made with so universal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made Sr *Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adher'd, or rather which adher'd to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it, by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with such a Committee of the Common Council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplex'd the other with many

The behaviour of the City at this time.

They Petition for a personal Treaty.

A Committee of Parliament treats with them about it.

Questions, "What they meant by those Expressions, they use "in their Petition (and had been the Common Expression long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all appl cations which had concern'd a Treaty) "That his Majest "might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what the "intended by those words? and whether the City would b "at the Charge in maintaining those Guards, which were t "be kept for the security of the King during such Treaty "and if the King should in that Treaty refuse to give the Pa "liament satisfaction, how his Person should be disposed of and many such Questions, to which they well knew that th Committee it self could make no Answer, but that there mu be another Common Council called, to which they must re pair for directions. And by this means, and administring ne Questions at every meeting; much time was spent, and th delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwith standing all the City's earnestness that the Treaty might be pre sently enter'd upon, it was delayed till the Insurrection i *Kent*, and the designs of the Earl of *Holland* (to both whic they had promised another kind of Assistance) were both di appointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in th *Downs* with his Fleet, and the Gentlemen in *Colchester* de fended themselves resolutely, and the *Scotish* Army was en ter'd the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; insc much as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, an declar'd, "That they would enter into a Personal Treaty wit "the King for the settling the Peace of the Kingdom; bu "that the Treaty should be in the Isle of *Wight*, where hi "Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety.

The Parliament declares for a personal Treaty.

THE City had offer'd before to the Committee upon som of the Questions which had been administer'd to them, "Tha "if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at th "Charge of maintaining those Guards which should be neces "sary for the safety and security of the King; and therefor they were very much troubled, that the Treaty should be no in the Isle of *Wight*, upon which they could have no influ ence; yet they thought not fit to make any new Instances fo change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede fron their Vote, that there should be a Treaty enter'd upon So they only renew'd their importunity, that all expeditio might be used; and in spight of all delays, in the beginnin of *August*, a Committee was sent from both Houses to th King to *Carisbrooke* Castle, where he had been close shut u about half a year, without being suffer'd to speak with any bu such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him

A Committee of both Houses sent to the King for that purpose in the beginning of August.

The substance of their Message to the King.

THE Message the Committee deliver'd was, "That th Houses did desire a Treaty with his Majesty, in what plac "o

of the Isle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Propositions tender'd to him at *Hampton* Court, and such other Propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his Person. The Messengers, who were one of the House f Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days, o body being very strict in the limitation of time to a day, ecause the Treaty was so much the longer kept off, which ey hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

THE King receiv'd them very graciously, and told them, They could not believe that any Man could desire a Peace more heartily than Himself, because no Man sufferd so much by the want of it: that, though he was without any Man to consult with, and without a Secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an Answer; which he gave them within two or three days, l written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented is present Condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, e said, "He did very chearfully embrace their motion, and accepted a Treaty they promised should be with Honour, Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be perform'd; for that, in the Condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant, and uninform'd of the present State of all his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit to judge of Colours, as He was to treat concerning the Peace of the Kingdom, except they would first revoke their Votes, and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited, and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wish'd, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near *London*, to the end that the Parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolv'd that it should be in the Isle of *Wight*, he would not except against it, but named the Town of *Newport* for the place of the Treaty. He said, "Though he desir'd all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending the Treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to Treat, except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the Treaty. He sent List of the Names of those his Servants which he desir'd night be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; vhereof the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Lindsey*, were the chief; all four Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy-Council.

The King's Answer.

He named likewise all the other Servants, whose attendanc
he desir'd in their several Offices. He sent a list of t
Names of several Bishops, and of such of his Chaplains,
he desir'd to confer with, and of many Common Lawyer
and some Civilians, whose advice he might have occasion
use; and desir'd, "That he might be in the same State
"freedom, as he enjoyed whilst he had been at *Hampt*
"Court.

By the time that the Commissioners return'd from the I
of *Wight*, and deliver'd this Answer to the Parliament, ne
was brought of the Defeat of the *Scotish* Army, and *Crom*
had written to his Friends, "What a perpetual Ignomy
"would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or
"home would ever give Credit to them, if they should rece
"from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther A
"dresses to the King, and conjured them to continue firm
"that Resolution. But they had gone too far now to reced
and since the first Motion and Petition from the Comm
Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had o
posed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses, ar
from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be pr
sent in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a Treat
flock'd again to the House, and advanc'd that Overture;
that they were much superior in Number to those who e
deavour'd first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped abs
lutely to frustrate all that had been proposed towards a Treat
And the great Victory which had been obtain'd against t
Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce *Co*
chester, and put a quick period to all other attempts again
the Parliament, made them more earnest and sollicitous fo
a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that Confu
sion they discern'd was the purpose of the Army to bring upo
the Kingdom: And so with the more Vigour they presse
"That satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that h
"had proposed in his Answer; and, notwithstanding all op
position, it was declar'd, "That the Vote for no more Ad
"dresses should stand repealed: That the Treaty should be
"*Newport*; and that his Majesty should be there in the sam
"freedom in which he was at *Hampton* Court; that the In
"structions to Colonel *Hammond*, by which the King ha
"been in that manner restrain'd, and all Persons forbid fro
"going to him, should be recalled; that all those Person
"who were named by the King, should have free liberty t
"repair to him, and to remain with him without being que
"stion'd, or troubled. And having proceeded thus far, the
nominated five Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Com
missioners who should treat with the King, and who wer
enjoyn'

The Vote of no more Addresses repeal'd; and the Treaty to be at Newport.

enjoyn'd to prepare all things to be in a readineſs for the Treaty with all poſſible expedition; but Sr *Harry Vane*, being one of thoſe Commiſſioners, uſed all his Arts to obſtruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell* would diſpatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to return, and to uſe more effectual and powerful Arguments againſt it, than He was furniſh'd withal.

ALL theſe occurrences were very well known to *Cromwell*, and were the motives which perſwaded him to believe, that his preſence at the Parliament was ſo neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Presbyterians, who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevailed with to ſtay and finiſh that only work of difficulty that remain'd to be done, which was the reducing *Pontfret* Caſtle; but left *Lambert* to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainsborough*, who had loſt his Life by that Garriſon, with ſome circumſtances which deſerve to be remember'd; as in truth all that Adventure in the taking, and defending that place, ſhould be preſerv'd by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the Perſons who were engaged in it.

An account of the taking of Pontfret *Caſtle for the King.*

WHEN the firſt War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Perſons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been render'd deſperate, by the Impriſonment of his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*, thoſe Officers and Gentlemen who had ſerv'd, whilſt there was any Service, betook themſelves generally to the habitations they had in the ſeveral Counties; where they liv'd quietly and privately, under the Inſolence of thoſe Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, ſubmitted to them. When the Parliament had finiſh'd the War, they reduced and ſlighted moſt of the Inland Garriſons, the Maintenance whereof was very chargeable: yet by the Intereſt of ſome Perſon who Commanded it, or out of the conſideration of the ſtrength and importance of the place, they kept ſtill a Garriſon in *Pontfret* Caſtle; a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Joynture. The Situation in it ſelf was very ſtrong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the Houſe very large, with all Offices ſuitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, ſo that it had the proſpect of a great part of the Weſt Riding of *York-ſhire*, and of *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *Nottingham-ſhire*, yet it was plentifully ſupplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governour of this Caſtle, exerciſed a very ſevere Juriſdiction over his Neighbours of thoſe parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had ſerv'd the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they liv'd quietly under the preſent Government. Upon the leaſt

Jealousy or Humour, these Men were frequently sent for, r
proached, and sometimes Imprison'd by the Governour i
this Garrison; which did not render them the more devote
to him. When there appear'd some hopes that the *Sco*
would raise an Army for the Relief and Release of the Kin
Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had visite
and conferr'd with some of his old Friends and Country-me
who now liv'd quietly within some distance of *Pontfret*, wh
inform'd him of that Garrison, the place whereof was we
known to him. And he acquainting them with the Assuranc
he had of the Resolution of the Principal Persons of the Kin
dom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to joyn wit
them, in order to which he was then going thither, the
agreed, "That, when it should appear that an Army was raise
"in *Scotland* upon that account, which must draw down th
"Parliament's Army into the other Northern Counties, an
"that there should be Risings in other parts of the Kingdo
(which the general indisposition and discontent, besides som
particular designs, made like to fall out) "that then thos
"Gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that Castle, an
"after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnish'd i
"with Provisions to endure some restraint, they should dra
"as good a Body to them as those Countries would yield
And having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a wa
of Correspondence with Sr *Marmaduke*, that they frequentl
gave him an account, and receiv'd his directions for thei
proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as the
had always been, and the Governour of the Castle liv'd to
wards them with less Jealousy, and more Humanity, than h
had been accustom'd to.

THERE was one Colonel *Morrice*, who being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Of ficer in some Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himself in the Parliament Army with some circum stances not very commendable; and by the clearness of hi Courage, and pleasantness of his Humour, made himself no only very acceptable, but was preferr'd to the Command of a Colonel, and perform'd many notable Services for them, be ing a stout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greates Danger; wherein he had usually Success. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a stricter disci pline, his Life of great License kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compound ing their new Army, but with many professions of kindness and respect to his eminent Courage, which they would find

some

me occaſion to Imploy, and Reward. He was a Gentleman a competent Eſtate in thoſe parts in *York-ſhire*; and as he d grown Elder, he had heartily deteſted himſelf for having itted the King's Service, and had reſolv'd to take ſome ſeaable opportunity to wipe off that blemiſh by a Service that ould redeem him; and ſo was not troubled to be ſet aſide the new General, but betook himſelf to his Eſtate; enjy'd his old Humour, which was chearful and pleaſant; and ade himſelf moſt acceptable to thoſe who were moſt truſted the Parliament; who thought that they had diſmiſſed one the beſt Officers they had, and were ſorry for it.

He now, as a Country Gentleman, frequented the Fairs d Markets, and converſed with equal freedom with all his eighbours, of what Party ſoever they had been, and reew'd the Friendſhip he had formerly held with ſome of thoſe entlemen who had ſerv'd the King. But no Friendſhip was dear to him, as that of the Governour of *Pontfret* Caſtle, ho lov'd him above all Men, and delighted ſo much in his ompany, that he got him to be with him ſometimes a week d more at a time in the Caſtle, when they always lay toether in one Bed. He declar'd to one of thoſe Gentlemen, ho were united together to make that Attempt, "That he would ſurpriſe that Caſtle, whenever they ſhould think the Seaſon ripe for it; and that Gentleman, who knew him ry well, believ'd him ſo entirely, that he told his Compaons, "That they ſhould not trouble themſelves with contriving the means to ſurpriſe the place; which by truſting too many, would be lyable to diſcovery; but that he would take that Charge upon himſelf, by a way they need not enquire into; which he aſſured them ſhould not fail: And ey all very willingly acquieſced in his undertaking; to which ey knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Sorrice* was more frequently with the Governour, who never ought himſelf well without him; and always told him "He muſt have a great care of his Garriſon, that he had none but faithfull Men in the Caſtle; for that he was confident there were ſome Men who liv'd not far off, and who many times came to viſit him, had ſome deſign upon the place; nd would then in confidence name many Perſons to him, me whereof were thoſe very Men with whom he communicated, and others were Men of another Temper, and were moſt devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends and Companions; "But that he ſhould not be troubled; for he had a falſe Brother amongſt them, from whom he was ſure to have ſeaſonable Advertiſement; and promiſed him, "That he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good Men into the Caſtle to reinforce his Gar-

"riſon,

"riſon, when there ſhould be occaſion; and he would ſh
"him the liſt of ſuch Men, as would be always ready, a
would ſometimes bring ſome of thoſe Men with him, and t
the Governour before them, "That thoſe were in the liſt
"had given him of the honeſt fellows, who would ſtick
"him when there ſhould be need; and others would ac
dentally tell the Governour, "That they had liſted themſelv
"with Colonel *Morrice* to come to the Caſtle, whenever
"ſhould call or ſend to them. And all theſe Men thus liſt
were fellows very notorious for the bitterneſs and mali
which they had always againſt the King, not one of which
ever intended to make uſe of.

He made himſelf very familiar with all the Soldiers in t
Caſtle, and uſed to play and drink with them; and when
lay there, would often riſe in the Night, and viſit the Guard
and by that means would ſometimes make the Governo
diſmiſs, and diſcharge a Soldier whom he did not like, und
pretence "That he found him always aſleep, or ſome oth
fault which was not to be examin'd; and then he would co
mend ſome other to him as very fit to be truſted and reli
upon, and by this means he had very much power in t
Garriſon. The Governour receiv'd ſeveral Letters from
Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, "That
"ſhould take care of Colonel *Morrice*, who reſolv'd to betr
"him; and inform'd him, "That he had been in ſuch a
"ſuch Company of Men, who were generally eſteem'd m
"Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them; all whi
was well known to the Governour; for the other was nev
in any of that Company, though with all the ſhew of ſecrec
in the Night, or in places remote from any Houſe, but
always told the Governour of it, and of many particul
paſſages in thoſe Meetings; ſo that when theſe Letters can
to him, he ſhew'd them ſtill to the other; and then both
them laugh't at the Intelligence; after which *Morrice* fr
quently called for his Horſe, and went home to his Houſ
telling his Friend "That though he had, he knew, no miſtr
"of his Friendſhip, and knew him too well to think him c
"pable of ſuch baſeneſs, yet he ought not for his own ſake
"thought to ſlight the information; which would make h
"Friends the leſs careful of him: that they had reaſon to gi
"him warning of thoſe meetings, which, if he had not know
"himſelf, had been very worthy of his ſuſpicion; therefo
"he would forbear coming to the Caſtle again, till the je
"louſy of his Friends ſhould be over; who would know
"this, and be ſatisfied with it: and no power of the Gove
nour could prevail with him, at ſuch times, to ſtay; but h
would be gone, and ſtay away till he was, after ſome tim
ſo

nt for again with great importunity, the Governour desiring s Counsel and Assistance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in Affairs of that nature, hen many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to ecute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe. he business of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and e daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been ttring the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were en- ged for this Enterprise, imagine that they deferr'd it too ng, and that though they had receiv'd no Orders from Sr *Varmaduke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they d been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon e Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, r the Execution of the design. The time agreed upon was ch a Night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon ch a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in o places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sen- iels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the astle, and in Bed with the Governour, and according to s custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. hey without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were An- er'd by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which ey run to both places where they were to mount their Lad- ers. By some Accident, the other Sentinel who was design'd, as not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Lad- r was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and finding at there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Gar- son: so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. ut, shortly after, *Morrice*, and some of the same Gentlemen rprised the Castle, under the disguise of Country-men com- g in with Carts of Provision; and presently seised on and aster'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, lorse and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went the Governour's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, id told him "The Castle was surprised, and himself a Pri- soner. He betook himself to his Arms for his defence, but uickly found that his Friend had betray'd it, and the other entlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, is defence was to no purpose, yet he receiv'd some wounds. *Morrice* afterward comforted him with assurance "Of good usage, and that he would procure his Pardon from the King for his Rebellion.

They put the Garrison in good order, and so many came o them from *York-shire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they ould not in a short time be restrain'd, and had leisure to tch in all sorts of Provisions, for their support, and to make

and

and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for the defence. From *Nottingham*, there came Sr *John Digby*, *Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who h been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers wl had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen the three Counties were present, and deserve to have the Names recorded, since it was an Action throughout of gre Courage and Conduct.

CROMWELL's marching towards the *Scots* with the ne lect of these Men after the first appearance, and only a pointing some County Troops to inclose them from i creasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grov so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they dre Contribution from all the parts about them, and made Incu sions much farther, and render'd themselves so terrible, tha as was said before, after the *Scotish* defeat, those of *York-shi* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "That he would make it tl "business of his Army to reduce *Pontfret*." But he, resolvi upon his *Scotish* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rain borough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Hors and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; whic with a conjunction of the Country Forces under the san Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform greater work. Assoon as the Castle had been reduced, the who were possessed of it were very willing to be under th Command of *Morrice*; who declar'd he would not accept th Charge, nor be Governour of the place, knowing well wh jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change Fortune, but under the direction of Sr *John Digby*; who wa Colonel General of those parts, and was a Man rather co dial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which mad him refer all things still to the Counsel, and Conduct of thol Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as muc was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolut Persons.

Part of the Garrison's attempt upon Rainsborough.

THE total defeat of the *Scotish* Army being now generall known, and that their Friends in all other places, were de feated, they in the Castle well knew what they were presen ly to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up fro making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* wa upon his march towards them, and had already sent som Troops to be Quarter'd near them, himself yet keeping hi Head Quarters at *Doncaster*, ten Miles from the Castle. The resolv'd, whilst they yet enioy'd this liberty, to make a nobl attempt. They had been inform'd, that Sr *Marmaduke Lang dale* (whom they still called their General) after the over throw of the *Scotish* Army, had been taken Prisoner, and re maine

ained in *Nottingham* Caſtle under a moſt ſtrict cuſtody, as Man the Parliament declared, "They would make an example of their Juſtice. A Party of about twenty Horſe, but cked and choice Men, went out of the Caſtle, in the beginng of the Night, with a Reſolution to take *Rainsborough* iſoner, and thereby to ranſom their General. They were good Guides, and underſtood the ways, private and pubk, very exactly; and went ſo far, that about the break of y or little after, in the end of *Auguſt*, they put themſelves to the Common Road that led from *York*; by which ways e Guards expected no Enemy; and ſo ſlightly asked them, Whence they came? who negligently Anſwer'd; and asked ain, "Where their General was? ſaying, "They had a Letter or him from *Cromwell*. They ſent one to ſhew them where the eneral was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay the beſt Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn is opened to them, three of them only enter'd into the Inn, e other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, er which they were to paſs towards *Pontfret*; where they pected, and did find a Guard of Horſe and Foot, with om they entertain'd themſelves in diſcourſe, ſaying, "That hey ſtayed for their Officer, who went only in to ſpeak with the General; and called for ſome drink. The Guards aking no queſtion of their being Friends, ſent for drink, and ked negligently with them of News; and, it being broad y, ſome of the Horſe alighted, and the Foot went to the ourt of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. hey who went into the Inn, where no body was awake t the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Cham- r the General (for ſo all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) ; and the Fellow ſhewing them from below the Chamber or, two of them went up, and the other ſtay'd below, and ld the Horſes, and talked with the Soldier who had walked ith them from the Guard. The two who went up, open'd e Chamber door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked ith the little noiſe they had made. They told him in ſhort that he was their Priſoner, and that it was in his power to chooſe whether he would be preſently killed (for which ork he ſaw they were very well prepar'd) "or quietly, without making reſiſtance, or delay, to put on his Cloaths and e mounted upon a Horſe, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to *Pontfret*. The preſent danger vaken'd him out of the amazement he was in, ſo that he ld them he would wait upon them, and made the haſte that as neceſſary to put on his Cloaths. One of them took his vord, and ſo they led him down ſtairs. He that held the orſes, had ſent the Soldier away to thoſe who were gone

before

before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any th
else, that could be made ready in the House, against they car
When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expec
to find full of Horse, and saw only one Man, who held
others Horses, and presently mounted that he might be bou
behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whe
upon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, t
immediately run him through with their Swords, and l
ving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Hor
and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn co
be ready to follow them. When those at the Bridge saw th
Companions coming, which was their sign, being well p
pared, and knowing what they were to do, they turn'd up
the Guard, and made them fly in distraction; so that
way was clear and free; and though they missed carry
home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventu
they joyn'd together, and marched, with the Expedition t
was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to th
Garrison; leaving the Town and Soldiers behind in such
consternation, that, not being able to receive any informat
from their General, whom they found dead upon the grou
without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had b
there; and could not recollect themselves, which way t
were to pursue an Enemy they had not seen. The Gall
Party came safe home without the least damage to Horse
Man, hoping to make some other attempt more succesfully,
which they might redeem Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*. There
not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not
willingly have lost as this Man; who was bold and barbar
to his wish, and fit to be entrusted in the most desperate
terest, and was the Man whom that Party always intended
commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it should be time
dismiss the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in t
Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though
had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the Su
mer.

And now to finish this business of *Pontfret* altogeth
which lasted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* ca
to this Charge (instructed by *Cromwell* to take full Ven
ance for the loss of *Rainsborough*, to whose Ghost he desig
an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thou
fit for that purpose, he reduced them in short time wit
their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Cast
that they might at last yield to Hunger, if nothing else wo
reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to
cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which ma
of the Besiegers, as well as the others, lost their Lives. Th
discove

cover'd many of the Country who held correſpondence
th, and gave Intelligence to the Caſtle, whom they appre-
nded, whereof there were two Divines, and ſome women
Note, Friends and Allies to the beſieged. After frequent
ortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief,
y were content to offer to Treat for the Delivery of the
ttle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not,
y ſent word "That they had Proviſions yet for a good
ime; that they durſt die, and would ſell their Lives at as
lear a price as they could. *Lambert* Anſwer'd, that he knew
hey were gallant Men, and that he deſir'd to preſerve as
nany of them, as was in his power to do, but he muſt re-
uire ſix of them to be given up to him, whoſe Lives he
ould not ſave; which he was ſorry for, ſince they were
rave men; but his hands were bound. The ſix excepted
him were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whoſe Names
found to have been amongſt thoſe who were in the Party
t had deſtroy'd *Rainsborough*; which was an Enterpriſe no
ve Enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did
mbert deſire it, but *Cromwell* had enjoyn'd it him: all the
t he "Was content to releaſe, that they might return to
heir Houſes, and apply themſelves to the Parliament for
heir Compoſitions, towards which he would do them all
he good Offices he could. They from within acknowledg'd
is Civility in that particular, and would be glad to em-
race it, but they would never be guilty of ſo baſe a thing,
is to deliver up any of their Companions; and therefore
ey deſir'd "They might have ſix days allow'd them, that
hoſe ſix might do the beſt they could to deliver themſelves;
n which it ſhould be lawful for the reſt to aſſiſt them; to
hich *Lambert* generouſly conſented, "So that the reſt would
Surrender at the end of that time; which was agreed to.
pon the firſt day the Garriſon appear'd twice or thrice, as
they were reſolv'd to make a Sally, but retired every time
ithout Charging; but the ſecond day they made a very
ong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had
pear'd the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Poſt,
th the loſs of Men on both ſides; and though the Party of
e Caſtle was beaten back, two of the ſix (whereof *Morrice*
as one) made their eſcape, the other four being forced to
tire with the reſt. And all was quiet for two whole days;
it in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they
ade another attempt ſo proſperouſly, that two of the other
ur likewiſe eſcaped: and the next day they made great ſhews
joy, and ſent *Lambert* word, "That their ſix Friends were
gone (though there were two ſtill remaining) and there-
fore they would be ready the next day to Surrender.

THE

THE other two thought it to no purpose to make anoth attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, wi a less dangerous Assistance from their Friends, who had lc some of their own lives in the two former Sallies to sa theirs. The buildings of the Castle were very large and sp cious, and there were great store of waste Stones from for Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenie place, which was like to be least visited, where they wall up their two Friends in such a manner that they had Air sustain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, which time they hoped they might be able to escape. A this being done, at the hour appointed they open'd their Por and after *Lambert* had caused a strict inquisition to be ma for those six, none of which he did believe had in tru escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amon those who were come out, he receiv'd the rest very civil and observ'd his promise made to them very punctually, a did not seem sorry that the six Gallant Men (as he call them) were escaped.

Pontfret deliver'd up to Lambert.

AND now they heard, which very much reliev'd th broken Spirits, that Sr *Marmaduke Lagdale* had made escape out of the Castle of *Nottingham*; who shortly aft Transported himself beyond the Seas. *Lambert* presently to care so to dismantle the Castle, that there should be no mo use of it for a Garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; so tha within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were le walled up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provid for themselves. Sr *John Digby* liv'd many years after t King's Return, and was often with his Majesty. Poor *Mo rice* was afterwards taken in *Lancashire*, and happen'd to b put to death in the same place where he had committed a fau against the King, and where he first perform'd a great Servic to the Parliament.

The Conditions of the Prince and the Duke of York *at the* Hague, *and the factions among their Followers.*

IN this desperate Condition, that is before described, stoo the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, h Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own family factious an in necessity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full Intrigues, and Designs, between the restless unquiet Spirit *Bampfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humour of S *John Berkley*. The Council, which was not numerous (fo the Prince had not Authority to add any to those who wer his Father's Counsellors) wanted not unity in it self, so muc as submission and respect from others, which had been lost t those who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to those sti remain'd, so abated much of the reverence which mo Men were willing to pay to the two who came last. An th

ıe great animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *olepepper* infinitely disturbed the Counsels, and perplexed ıe Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ho had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* id some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could re-rain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to e Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, :t his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that ejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Attorney eneral, who had the absolute Ascendent over that Prince, d who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be vern'd by him, that every meeting in Council was full of :terness and sharpness between them.

ONE day the Council met (as it used to do when they did ıt attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord easurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exche-er being in one House) about giving direction for the sale some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services erchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary be trusted. Prince *Rupert* proposed "That one Sr *Robert Walsh* (a Person too well known to be trusted) "Might be mploy'd in that Affair: it was to sell a Ship of Sugar. o Man who was present would ever have consented that he ould have been employ'd; but the Lord *Colepepper* spoke inst him with some warmth, so that it might be thought reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had proposed him. on which, he asking "What exceptions there were to Sr *Robert Walsh*, why he might not be fit for it; *Colepepper* swer'd with some quickness, "That he was a known cheat; ich, though notoriously true, the Prince seem'd to take ry ill; and said, "He was his Friend, and a Gentleman; nd if he should come to hear of what had been said, he new not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid Fighting with him. *Colepepper*, whose Courage no Man doubted, sently replied, "That he would not Fight with *Walsh*, but e would Fight with his Highness; to which the Prince an-er'd very quietly, "That it was well; and the Council rose great perplexity.

PRINCE *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancel-led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he uld so far have prevail'd with him, as to have made him sible of the excess he had committed, and to have per-ded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his don, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he s yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, seem'd to think only of making good what he had so im-

prudently said. Prince *Rupert* quickly inform'd his Confide
the Atturney General of all that had passed; who was the u
fittest Man living to be trusted with such a secret, having
ways about him store of Oyl to throw upon such Fire. H
soon found means to make it known to the Prince, who pr
sently sent for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be inform
of the whole matter; and when he understood it, was excee
ingly troubled, and required him "To let *Colepepper* kno
"that he ought to make a submission to Prince *Rupert*; wi
"out which worse would fall out.

He went first to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify h
till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so
prevail'd with his Highness, who would have been more cl
lerick if he had had less Right of his side, that he was willi
to receive a submission; and promised "That the other sho
"receive no affront in the mean time. But he found m
difficulty on the other side, the Lord *Colepepper*, continui
still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that
ought to be excused for the Reply, and that the Prince ou
to acknowledge the one as well as He the other. But af
some days recollection, finding no Body with whom he c
versed of his mind, and understanding how much the Prin
was displeased, and that he expected he should ask Prince
pert Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was
where he could expect no security from his Quality and F
ction, he resolv'd to do what he ought to have done at fi
and so he went with the Chancellor to Prince *Rupert*'s Lo
ing; where he behav'd himself very well; and the Prin
receiv'd him with all the Grace could be expected; so t
so ill a business seem'd to be as well concluded as the nat
of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the Attur
General had done all he could to dissuade that Prince fr
accepting so small, and so private a satisfaction; but, not p
vailing, he inflamed Sr *Robert Walsh*, who had been infor
of all that had passed at the Council concerning himself,
take his own revenge; in which many Men thought, that
was assured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And
next Morning after his Highness had receiv'd satisfaction.
the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council witho
Sword, *Walsh*, coming to him, seem'd quietly to expostu
with him, for having menton'd him so unkindly. To
which the other answer'd "That he would give him s
"faction in any way he would require; though he ought
"to be call'd in question for any thing he had said in
"place. On a suddain, whilst they were in this calm
course, *Walsh* struck him with all his force one blow in
Face with his Fist; and then stepped back, and drew

Swe

word; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and ne Lord *Colepepper*, with his Nose and Face all bloody, went ack to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This utrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morng in the sight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exeedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand stice; and they, according to their method and slow proeedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused *Walsh* to be Summon'd, and after so many days, for want of ppearance, he was by the sound of a Bell publickly bashed from the *Hague*; and so he made his residence in *Amerdam*, or what other place he pleased. And this was the paration the States gave the Prince for so Ruffianly a Transession; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy sinesse exposed the Prince himself, as well as his Council, to ore disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have en paid to either.

The ill condition of the Prince's Fleet in Holland.

THE improvidence that had been used in the Fleet, besides unactivity, by the dismissing so many great Prizes, was w too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the a-men, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new ictual the Ships, which was as important; since it was easy be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the Station here they were for the present, and the extreme license hich all Men took to censure and reproach that improvience, disturbed all Counsels, and made Conversation it self ry uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that License; very Man believing that his particular necessities, with which l Men abounded, might easily have been reliev'd, and proded for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which ey therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot denied but there was so great a Treasure taken, which rn'd to no account, and so much more might have been ken, if the several Ships had been applied to that end, that full provision might have been made, both for the support the Fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who deended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well anaged, and could have been deposited in some secure place, l all might have been sold at good Markets. And no body as satisfied with the Reasons which were given for the disarging, and dismissing so many Ships to gratify the City of ondon, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away id lost, was generally believ'd to be worth more than all they ould have done, if they had been able, those Bounties were ot the natural motives which were to be applied to that Peo-

ple; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be r
vived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insu
portable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trad
and the seising upon their Estates, being, at that time, thoug
by many the most proper Application to the City of *Londo*
and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peac
and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give
And if the Fleet had applied it self to that, and visited all tho
Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, a
where some places had declared for the King (as *Scarboro*
in *York-shire* did) if it had not been possible to have set t
King at liberty in the Isle of *Wight*, or to have reliev'd *Colchest*
(both which many Men believ'd, how unskilfully soever,
be practicable) it would have spent the time much more a
vantageously and honourably than it did.

BUT let the ill consequence be never so great, if it h
proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have be
discover'd by the examination and inquisition that was mad
and therefore it may be well concluded that there was not
And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possess'd of the p
pose and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's business, b
fore the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and t
revolt of the Fleet appear'd, that she did not enough wei
the good use that might have been made of those when they c
happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as t
sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon t
benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as
opportunity offer'd by Providence to transport the Prin
with security thither. And her Instructions to those she tru
ed about the Prince, were so positive, "That they should n
"give consent to any thing that might divert or delay th
"Expedition, that, if the Earl of *Lautherdale* had been
riv'd when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have be
immediately engaged to have Transported the Prince in
Scotland, what other conveniences soever, preferable to th
had offer'd themselves. And the very next day after that Lor
coming to the Prince in the *Downs*, his injunctions and beh
viour were so imperious for the Prince's present departu
that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Sea-men preve
ted it. His Highness's own Ship was under Sail for *Holla*
that he might from thence have prosecuted his other Voyag
nor would he at that time have taken *Holland*, in his way,
there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for su
a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the mo
grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prin
himself was much more inclined to have pursued other oc
sions which were offer'd, and only resign'd himself implicitly
the pleasure of his Mother.

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THE preſent ill condition of the Fleet, and the unſteady humour of the Common Sea-men was the more notorious, and unſeaſonable, by the Earl of *Warwick's* coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made ſome Hoſtile Attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Sea-men were on Shore, if the State had not in the very Inſtant, ſent ſome of their Ships of War to preſerve the Peace in their Port. However, according to the Inſolence of his Maſters, and of moſt of thoſe employ'd by them, the Earl ſent a Summons of a ſtrange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, "That a 'Fleet of Ships, which were part of the Navy Royal of the 'Kingdom of *England*, was then Riding at Anchor off *Helvoet Sluce*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore 'by the Parliament's Authority, by which he was conſti-'tuted Lord High Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral, 'or Commander in chief of that Fleet, to take down the 'Standard; and the Captains and Mariners belonging to the 'Ships, to render themſelves and the Ships to him, as High 'Admiral of *England*, and for the uſe of the King and Par-'liament; And he did, by the like Authority, offer an in-'demnity to all thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to him.

The Earl of Warwick with his Fleet comes upon the Coaſt of Holland.

AFTER which Summons, though receiv'd by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remain'd on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impreſſion upon the Officers, nor viſibly, at that time, upon the Common Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in ſo near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Inſinuations, and by ſending many of his Sea-men on Shore at *Helvoet Sluce* (where they enter'd into Converſation with their old Companions) ſo to work upon and corrupt many of the Sea-men, that it afterwards appear'd many were debauch'd; ſome whereof went on Board his Ships, others ſtay'd to do more miſchief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Seaſon of the Year, and the Winds which uſually rage on that Coaſt in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

ALL theſe diſturbances were attended with a worſe, which fell out at the ſame time, and that was the ſickneſs of the Prince; who, after ſome days indiſpoſition, appear'd to have the ſmall Pox; which almoſt diſtracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the conſternation was very univerſal whilſt that was thought in danger. But, by the goodneſs and mercy

The Prince of Wales has the ſmall Pox.

of God, he recover'd in few days the peril of that distempe and, within a Month, was restored to so perfect Health, th he was able to take an account himself of his Melancholi and perplexed Affairs.

THERE were two points which were chiefly to be con der'd, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which wou bear delay for the consultation, and resolution; the first, Ho to make provision to pay, and Victual the Fleet, and to cor pose the Mutinous Spirits of the Sea-men; who paid no rev rence to their Officers, insomuch as, in the short stay whi the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Helvoet Sluce*, as ha been said, many of the Sea-men had gone over to him, a the *Constant Warwick*, a Frigat of the best Account, had eith voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or suffer'd it self willing to be taken, and carried away with the rest into *Englan* The other was, What he should do with the Fleet, when was both Payed and Victualled.

TOWARDS the first, there were some Ships brought with the Fleet, laden with several Merchandize of value, th if they could be sold to the true worth, would amount to Sum sufficient to pay the Sea-men their Wages, and to put Provisions enough to serve four Months; and there we many Merchants from *London*, who were desirous to b their own Goods, which had been taken from them; ar others had Commissions from thence to buy the rest. B then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any oth Market, but must be sold in the place where they were; ar therefore they were resolv'd to have very good Penny-worth And there were many Debts claim'd, which the Prince ha promised, whilst he was in the River, should be paid out the first Money that should be raised upon the Sale of suc and such Ships: particularly, the Prince believ'd that th Countess of *Carlisle*, who had committed faults enough to th King and Queen, had pawn'd her Necklace of Pearls for fi teen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in sup plying Officers, and making other Provisions for the Exped tion of the Earl of *Holland* (which Sum of fifteen hundre pounds the Prince had promised the Lord *Piercy* her Brothe who was a very importunate Sollicitor) should be paid upo the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was the conceiv'd to be worth above six or seven thousand pound Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships; so tha when Money was to be raised upon the Sale of Merchandize they who had such Engagements, would be themselves er trusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the ba gain with Purchasers, to the end that they might be sure t receive what they claim'd, out of the first Monies that shoul

b

e raiſed. By this means, double the value was deliver'd, to atisfy a debt that was not above the half.

BUT that which was worſe than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertiſed the Prince, that ſome Queſtions had been tarted in the States, "What they ſhould do, if the Parliament 'of *England* (which had now a very dreadful name) ſhould 'ſend over to them to demand the reſtitution of thoſe Mer-'chants Goods, which had been unjuſtly taken in the *Downs*, 'and in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into their 'Ports, and were offer'd to Sale there, againſt the obligation 'of that Amity which had been obſerv'd between the two 'Nations, during the late War? What Anſwer they ſhould 'be able to make, or how they could refuſe to permit the 'owners of thoſe Goods to make their Arreſts, and to ſue in 'their Admiralty for the ſame? Which firſt Proceſs would ſtop 'the preſent Sale of whatever others pretended a Title to, till 'the right ſhould be determin'd. The Prince of *Orange* ſaid, "That ſuch Queſtions uſed not to be ſtarted there with-'out deſign; and therefore adviſed the Prince "To loſe no "time in making compleat Sales of all that was to be ſold; "to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchaſe "might likewiſe be engaged in the Defence of it. Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mention'd, haſty bargains were made with all who deſir'd to buy, and who would not buy except they were ſure to be good Gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wiſdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr *Long*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been poſſeſſed of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilſt the Prince was in the Fleet, and ſo could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who lov'd it leſs, would at that time have ſubmitted to the imployment, which expoſed him to the importunity and inſolence of all neceſſitous Perſons, when he could ſatisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and diſadvantage.

ASSOON as the Money was raiſed, it was ſent to the Fleet to pay the Sea-men; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to ſee, and keep up the Spirits of the Sea-men, who were very mutinous, not without the infuſions of ſome who did not deſire they ſhould be too well pleaſed with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* ſtay'd on Board purely out of Duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more reſpect for Him than for any Body elſe. Sr *William Batten* likewiſe remain'd with them, not knowing well how

to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary
his Province, the Sea-men having contracted an implacab
jealousy and malice against him, more than they were n
turally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was n
any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an imp
tient desire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Cou
try, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; again
whom he never after took imployment.

THE other point to be resolv'd was yet more difficul
"what should be done with the Fleet, and who should Com
"mand it? and though the Advertisement the Prince of *Orang*
had given his Royal Highness, of the Question started in th
States, concern'd only the Merchants Ships, which were mad
Prize, yet it was very easy to discern the Logick of that Que
stion would extend as well, and be applied to those of th
Royal Navy, as to Merchants Ships. And it was eviden
enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon then
to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King
or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences whic
were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from bein
United in that demand. So that the Prince knew that no
thing was more necessary than that they should be gone ou
of the Ports of those Provinces, and that the States wish'd it
exceedingly.

WHILST *Bamfield* was about the Person of the Duke of *York*, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be pos-sessed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it: and *Bamfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discover'd more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffer'd to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he return'd into *England*; where he was never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of Age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a suddain Mutiny amongst the Sea-men, "That he "should go to *Helvoet Sluce*, to appear amongst them, who professed great Duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to perswade him, "That the Coun-"cil had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill "will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him "up to the Parliament. So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Coun-cil, serv'd both with great Fidelity; every Body who was un-satisfied

atisfied (and no Body was satisfied) aſperſing them, or ſome of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in ſuch a manner as touch'd the honour of the reſt, and moſt reflected upon the King's own Honour, and Service.

PRINCE *Rupert* had a long deſire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that deſire, though carried with all ſecrecy, had been the cauſe of ſo many Intrigues, either to inflame the Sea-men, or to cheriſh their froward inclinations, and encreaſe the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Atturney mention'd this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Perſon the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it ſhould get Sail from the Port, and whither it ſhould go. The Chancellor made no other Anſwer to him, than, "That it was like to be a charge of much danger, and hazard; that he muſt not believe that any Body would propoſe the undertaking it to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would Command him to undertake it; and that he thought it neceſſary, that it ſhould be firſt reſolv'd, what the Fleet ſhould do, and whither it ſhould go, before a Commander ſhould be appointed over it.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited ſo many months at *Paris* for the Performance of thoſe gaudy promiſes which the Cardinal had made, after he ſaw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himſelf was treated by him, and that he would not ſuffer the leaſt aſſiſtance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the Fleet, upon the powerful Inſurrections in *England*, and poſſeſſing ſo many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* ſeem'd ſo united for his Majeſty's ſervice, and an Army of thirty thouſand Men were ſaid to be even ready to march; I ſay, after he diſcern'd that the Cardinal was ſo far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the deſtroying them, but the Impriſoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he reſolv'd, though he had neither Men, or Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promiſed to tranſport with him, he would not tranſport his own Perſon, to what evident danger ſoever it was to expoſe it. Upon the full aſſurance the Cardinal had given him of very ſubſtantial aid, he had aſſured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "That he would be preſent with him with

The Affairs of the Marquis of Ormond and the Lord Inchiquin in Ireland.

"notable

"notable supply of Money, Arms, and Ammunition, an
"good Officers, and some common Men (which were all i
readiness, if the Money had been paid to entertain them
and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly serv'd th
King, and liv'd now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upo
the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis c
Ormond, "That they should expect his speedy arrival.

AND though he had from time to time, sent Advertise
ments of the delays and obstructions he met with in th
French Court, so that he did almost despair of any Assistanc
from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to re
tire; and the Lord *Lisle*, who had been sufficiently provoke
and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full m
lice, and such information (which was not hard for him t
be furnish'd with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army int
such fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had h
therto sustain'd his Credit, would be very hardly able to sup
port him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm fro
thence, so he had a very sharp War to maintain against th
Irish, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which W
had been always carried on in *Munster* with wonderful an
mosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especial
against Priests, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it w
very hard to hope that those People would live well togethe
And indeed the *Irish* were near rooted out of the Province
Munster, though they were powerful enough, and strong
all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, wi
all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord of *Ormond*, "Tha
"though without any other Assistance, he would transport h
"own Person: by whose Countenance and Authority he pr
sumed the *Irish* might be divided, and brought to reasor
and desir'd him, "In the mean time, to send to such of th
"*Irish* as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew,
"their Hearts did not wish well to the Nuntio, that the
"would secretly correspond with Him, and dispose the
"Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advan
"the King's Service; to which they did not know that he w
"inclined, but look'd upon him, as the same malicious a
"irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appear'd
"be to their Religion, more than to their Persons.

An Account of the Affairs of the Irish about this time.

FROM the time that the *Irish* enter'd into that bloody, a
foolish Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Inte
tions and Designs, which were every day improv'd in th
carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabit
the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contain'd in
was originally of *English* Extraction, since the first Plantati
by the *English* many Ages past. And though they were d
generat

generated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and were as stupidly transported with the highest Superstition of the Romish Religion, yet they had always steadily adher'd to the Crown, and perform'd the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of *Lemster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with *English* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province, who were of the oldest *Irish* Extractions, and of those Families which had been Kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best *English* Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old *Irish*, and liv'd regularly in Obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoy'd the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

THE Seat of the old *Irish*, who retain'd the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigour. Here the Rebellion was first contriv'd, cherish'd, and enter'd upon with that horrid Barbarity, by the *O Neils*, the *Macguyres*, and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly spread it self, and was entertain'd in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honour and Quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the War against all *Irish* equally, if not against all Roman Catholicks; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declin'd in all the orders and directions sent to them out of *England*, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had chearfully offer'd their Service, they concluded, that the *English Irish* were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolv'd to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courses as the rest had done) yet, I say, they were no sooner enter'd into the War, which was so generally embraced, but there appear'd a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General *Preston*: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return to

their

their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and look'd upo all the Eſtates which had ever been in the poſſeſſion of any c their Anceſtors, though forfeited by their Treaſon and Re bellion, as juſtly due to them, and raviſh'd from them by th Tyranny of the Crown, march'd under the Conduct of *Owe Roe O Neile*; both Generals of the *Iriſh* Nation; the one de ſcended of *Engliſh* Extraction through many deſcents; th other purely *Iriſh*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bre in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both eminent Commande there, and of perpetual jealouſy of each other: the one of th more frank and open Nature; the other darker, leſs polit and the wiſer Man; but both of them then in the head c more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power coul bring into the Field againſt either of them.

The Characters of Preſton *and* O Neile *the chief Generals.*

THIS diſparity in the Temper and Humour of thoſe Pe ple, firſt diſpoſed thoſe of the moſt moderate to deſire a Peac ſhortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Ce ſation that was firſt enter'd into, and the Peace, which di not ſoon enough enſue upon it; and which, upon the matte did provide only for the exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Re ligion; but did that in ſo immoderate and extravagant a mar ner, as made it obnoxious to all the Proteſtants of the King Dominions.

OWEN *Roe O Neile* refuſed to ſubmit to the Condition and Articles of that Peace, though tranſacted and confirm' by their Catholick Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Repre ſentative the *Iriſh* Nation had choſen for the Conduct of a the Counſels for Peace and War, and to which they all avow ed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope' Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Tran ported himſelf into that Kingdom, applied himſelf to *Owe O Neile*, and took that Party into his Protection; and f wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he broke tha Peace, and proſecuted thoſe who had made it, with thoſ circumſtances which have been before remember'd, and whic neceſſitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and t leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; an Lord *Inchiquin* having likewiſe refuſed to conſent, and ſubmi to that Peace, and continued to make the War ſharply, an ſucceſsfully againſt the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter* whereof he was Preſident. But the Nuntio was no ſoone inveſted in the ſupreme Command of that Nation both b Sea and Land, as over a People ſubject to the Pope, and of Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a far taſtical Humour, and of an imperious and proud Nature, h behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all (and having brough no Aſſiſtance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavour'd b

The Pope's Nuntio Commands the Iriſh.

nev

new exactions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at St *Germains*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerry* (who had Married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Munster* of all the *Irish*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd there, against all the opposition the Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholicks and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio was driven into *Waterford*; and, upon the matter, Besieged there by the Catholick *Irish*; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at *Kingsale*, and being receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorne and contemned Nuntio found it necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, and Interdict, as an Apostate Nation; and all the Province of *Munster* (in which there are many excellent Ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily concluded, "That it was the best, if not the only "place the Fleet could repair to; though the danger in Conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Atturney *Herbert*.

The Marquis of Ormond *arrives at* Kingsale, *and the Pope's Nuntio leaves* Ireland.

THERE was in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willoughby*, besides his being without much Experience of the *Sea*, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Sea-men were too much broke loose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true, that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much belov'd by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Munster*; and the passage

ſage thither could not but be full of danger, in reſpect tha the Parliament was without queſtion Maſter of the Sea (al though the Iſland of *Silly* being then under the King's Autho rity, and Sr *John Greenvil* being the Governour thereof, mad that paſſage ſomething the more ſecure) therefore this pur poſe was to be concealed as the laſt ſecret; there being grea danger that the Sea-men would rather carry all the Ship back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; againſ which People they had made a War at Sea with circumſtance very barbarous; for they had ſeldom given any Quarter, bu the *Iriſh*, as well Merchants and Paſſengers, as Mariners, whic fell into their Hands, as hath been ſaid before, were boun back to back and thrown into the Sea; ſo that they could hav no inclination to go into a Country whoſe People had bee handled ſo cruelly by them.

HERE again appear'd another objection againſt the Perſo of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be ſubject t the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom: an yet it ſeem'd moſt reaſonable that the Ships, whilſt they ſtay' there, might be imploy'd towards the reducing of the othe parts, which were in Rebellion: Beſides that there was cauſ to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity to wards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was neceſſary for the Pu blick Service. Notwithſtanding all this, when the little Stra tagem of having Prince *Rupert* deſired to take the Comman of the Fleet upon him, did not ſucceed, Prince *Rupert* himſe made the Propoſition to the Prince to take the Comman of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highnes would be pleaſed to direct. And then the whole matter be ing debated, neceſſity made that to be Counſellable, againſ which very many reaſonable objections might be made. S it was reſolv'd that Prince *Rupert* ſhould be Admiral of tha Fleet, and that it ſhould Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge and Expedition appear'd to be the more hopeful by the pre ſence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in th Royal Navy: Sr *Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince mad Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; Sr *John Mennes*, wh had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he ha been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fiela ing*, who was made Captain of the *Conſtant Reformation*; al worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Expe rience in the Service at Sea, and well known and lov'd b the Sea-men. With theſe Officers, and ſome other Gentle men, who were willing to ſpend their time in that Service Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet Sluce*, where the Ships lay, an ſeem'd to be receiv'd by the Fleet with great joy. They al beſtirr'd themſelves in their ſeveral places to get the Ship read

Prince Rupert undertakes the Command of the Prince's Fleet.

eady for Sea, and all thoſe Proviſions which were neceſ-ary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been uſed.

When they took a ſtrict Survey of the Ships, the Car-penters were all of opinion, "That the *Convertine*, a Ship of "the ſecond Rank, that carried ſeventy Guns, was too old "and decay'd to be now ſent out in a Winter Voyage, and in "ſo rough Seas, and that when a great deal of Money ſhould "be laid out to mend her, ſhe would not be ſerviceable or ſafe. And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy had itted her out at the beginning of the Summer, they had de-lared, "That, when ſhe came in again, ſhe would not be fit "for more uſe, but muſt be lay'd upon the Stocks. Where-upon the Ship was brought into *Helvoet Sluce*, upon the next ſpring Tyde, and examined by the beſt *Dutch* Carpenters and ſurveyors; and all being of the ſame mind, information was ent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of the whole, who there-upon gave direction for the Sale of the Ordnance, and what-oever elſe would yield Money: all which was applied to the victualling, and ſetting out the reſt, without which no means ould have been found to have done it; ſo much ill huſ-bandry had been uſed, and ſo much direct cheating in the ma-naging all the Money that had been raiſed upon the Prizes.

Prince *Rupert* remain'd all the time at *Helvoet Sluce*, till all was ready to ſet Sail, and had, with notable Vigour and Succeſs, ſuppreſſed two or three Mutinies, in one of which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the ſtrength of his own Arms. All ſubordi-nate Officers were appointed, Commiſſioners for the Sale of all Prize Goods, and Ships that ſhould be taken, Treaſurers, and Pay-maſters for iſſuing and paying and receiving all Mo-nies; and an eſtabliſhment for the whole too regular and ſtrict to be obſerv'd: and though all Perſons imploy'd were well known, and approv'd by Prince *Rupert*, and moſt of them nominated by himſelf, yet he thought it fit after to change that Conſti-tution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and iſſues under his own Management, and ſole Government. When all was ready, he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of *December* he ſet Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arriv'd ſafely at *Kingſale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a ſhrewd Evidence how unſe-cure along abode would have been there, by ſome Parliament Ships coming into that Road, and ſending their Men on Shore, who at noon day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet Sluce*, nor did the States make any expoſtulation, or do any juſtice for the Affront offer'd to themſelves, and their Government.

Sets Sail for Ireland *in* December.

In

IN this calamitous State of Affairs there ſeem'd to be n hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be reſtore to ſuch a condition, that there might be thoſe Roots left in th Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogativ might ſprout out hereafter, and flouriſh. The Commiſſioner for the Treaty arriv'd in the Iſle of *Wight* upon the fifteent day of *September*, whilſt *Cromwell* yet remain'd in his Norther Progreſs, and his Army divided into ſeveral parts for the f niſhing his Conqueſt; which was the reaſon that all they wh wiſhed ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectua had uſed and interpoſed all the delays they could, that h might return before it begun, as they who wiſhed it migh ſucceed well, were as ſollicitous, that it might be conclude before that time; which made them the leſs to inſiſt upo many particulars both in the Propoſitions, and the Inſtruct ons, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies i the Treaty than before it.

The Commiſſioners arrive in the Iſle of Wight, Sept. 15.

THEY ſtayed three days in the Iſland before the Treaty be gun, which was time little enough to prepare the Houſe fo the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjuſting many circum ſtances of the Treaty. In that time they waited ſeveral time on the King, with great ſhew of outward duty and reſpect and though none of them durſt adventure to ſee the King i private, they Communicated freely with ſome of thoſe Lords and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come t attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And ſo the found means to advertiſe his Majeſty of many particular which they thought neceſſary for him to know; which mad different impreſſions upon him, as the information proceede from Perſons better or worſe affected to him. And many o thoſe who had liberty to attend, were competent Conſiderer of the truth of what they ſaid.

THE truth is, there were amongſt the Commiſſioners man who had been carried with the violence of the ſtream, an would be glad of thoſe conceſſions which the King woul very chearfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Obli vion being what they were principally concern'd in. An of all the reſt, who were more paſſionate for the Militia, an againſt the Church, there was no Man, except Sr *Harry Vane* who did not deſire that a Peace might be eſtabliſhed by tha Treaty. For as all the other Lords deſir'd, in their own Na tures and Affections, no more than that their Tranſgreſſion might never more be called to remembrance; ſo the Lord *Sa* himſelf (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being di ſtinguiſhed from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive well foreſaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty proved ineffectual, and the Army ſhould make their own mode

nodel of the Government they would ſubmit to (as undoubtedly they reſolv'd ſhortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was propoſed o him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majeſty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections ſoever they were, was he ſame, "That his Majeſty ſhould, forthwith, and without 'delaying it to the expiration of the Term aſſign'd by the 'Parliament for the Treaty (which was forty days) "yield 'to the full demands which were made in the Propoſitions. Their only Argument was, "That if he did not, or not do it 'quickly, the Army would proceed their own way; and had 'enough declared, that they would depoſe the King, change the Government, and ſettle a Republick by their own Rules and Invention. And this Advertiſement was as well believ'd y thoſe of the King's own Party, as by the Commiſſioners hemſelves.

BEFORE the Treaty begun, the Commiſſioners made it nown to the King "That they could not admit that any Perſon ſhould be preſent in the Room where the Treaty ſhould be in Debate: that they were Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament to treat with his Majeſty, and with Him alone; and that they might not permit any particular and private Perſons to oppoſe, or confer with them upon the demands of the Parliament. So that albeit the Parliament had iven leave to the ſeveral Biſhops, and other Divines, and many Lawyers of eminency to wait on his Majeſty, upon is deſire, that they might inſtruct and inform him in all difficult caſes which related to Religion or the Law of the Land, ey were like to be of little uſe to him now they were come, they might not be preſent at the Debate, and offer ſuch dvice to his Majeſty, as upon emergent occaſions he ſhould and in need of, or require from them. At laſt they were ntented, and his Majeſty was obliged to be contented too, at they might ſtand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was id, and when any ſuch difficulty occurr'd as would require nſultation, his Majeſty might retire to his Chamber, and ll thoſe to him, with whom he would adviſe, to attend m, and might then return again into the Room for the reaty, and declare his own Reſolution. This was the unual and unreaſonable Preliminary and Condition, to which e King was compelled to ſubmit before the Treaty could gin.

THEY who had not ſeen the King in a Years time (for it is little leſs from the time that he had left *Hampton* Court) nd his Countenance extreamly alter'd. From the time t his own Servants had been taken from him, he would never

never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any ne
Cloaths; so that his aspect and appearance was very differer
from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was goo
and he was much more chearful in his discourses towards a
Men than could have been imagined, after such mortificatio
of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but ca
ried himself with the same Majesty he had used to do. H
hair was all gray, which making all others very sad, made
thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appear
only by that shadow.

UPON *Monday* the 18th of *September*, the Treaty begu
and the Commissioners presented their Commission to his M
jesty, to treat with him personally, upon the Propositio
presented formerly at *Hampton* Court, concerning the Kin
dom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon such Propositio
as should be offer'd either by his Majesty, or the two Hous
of Parliament, according to their Instructions, *&c.* Thou
the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had so totally subdu
Scotland, that he had not left any Man there in the least A
thority or Power, who did so much as pretend to wish w
to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Co
mand there as *Argyle* himself had, who was but his Creatu
yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifest h
own Royal Compassion for them, he told the Commissione
"That, when the Propositions had been deliver'd to him
"*Hampton* Court, the *Scotish* Interest was so involved in the
"that it could be hardly separable from that of *Englan*
"that it concern'd him, as King of both Kingdoms, to
"just and equal between both; and that though they had
"Authority to treat for any thing but what related to *En*
"*land*, yet He, who was to provide for the publick Pea
"which could hardly be provided for, except the *Scots* we
"comprehended in this Treaty) did desire, that they wou
"send to the two Houses of Parliament, to give a Pass for o
"of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the Coun
"there to send some Body authorised by that Kingdom, w
"might treat with the Commissioners of Parliament: and
that purpose his Majesty deliver'd them a Paper in writing
be sent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the sa
time, "That it was never his desire or meaning, that th
"should meddle in the Government of *England*, but o
"should treat concerning the Peace, to the end that t
"might be durable. But the Commissioners alledged, "T
"it was not in Their power to receive and transmit that,
"any other Paper, to the Parliament, that referr'd to t
"Kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave,
"an evidence of their Duty, to inform him what ill con

"quen

quence the tranſmiſſion of that Paper at that time might be to the Treaty it ſelf. Whereupon he declin'd ſending it by Meſſenger of his own for the preſent (which he intended to ave done) being unwilling to give any occaſion of diſpute r jealouſy ſo early, and believing that after he ſhould have otten a good underſtanding with the two Houſes, in what as of immediate concernment to *England*, he ſhould more fectually tranſmit that, or any other Paper, for the more iſy compoſing the affairs of *Scotland*.

THEN they preſented their firſt propoſition to his Maje- *The firſt Propoſition for revoking all his Majeſty's Declarations, &c.*
y; "That he would revoke all Declarations, and Commiſ- ſions granted heretofore by him againſt the Parliament. Whereupon his Majeſty deſired, "That he might ſee all the Propoſitions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better conſider what ſatisfaction he could give them upon the whole: which they would not yield to with- it much importunity, and at laſt deliver'd them with re- ctancy, as a thing they were not ſure they ought to do. And ough their Commiſſion referr'd to Inſtructions, and his Ma- ty deſired that he might have a view of thoſe, they per- ptorily refuſed to let him have a ſight of them; and only ld him, "That they were directed by their Inſtructions, firſt to treat upon the Propoſition they had already preſented to him, concerning the revocation of the Declarations *&c.* and in the next place, of the Church, then of the Militia, and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the reſt of the Propoſitions in order; and they declared likewiſe that, by their Inſtructions, they were not to enter upon any new Propoſitions, before they ſhould have receiv'd his Majeſty's final Anſwer to what was firſt propoſed.

HEREUPON the King demanded of them, "Whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their Propoſitions, or to conſent to any altera- ions, if his Majeſty ſhould give them good reaſon ſo to do? o which they Anſwer'd very Magiſterially, "That they were eady to Debate, to ſhew how reaſonable their deſires were, nd that there could be no reaſon why they ſhould alter or ecede from them; but if his Majeſty did ſatisfy them, they hould do therein as they were warranted by their Inſtructi- ons. Theſe limitations and reſtrictions in a matter of that Im- rtance, which contain'd a new frame of Government, and alteration of all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, al- oſt damped and ſtifled all the hope his Majeſty had enter- n'd of good from this Treaty. However, he reſolv'd to if conſenting to the ſubſtantial part of any Propoſition would e them ſatisfaction; and ſo, without taking notice of the eamble of that Propoſition, which they had deliver'd to him,

His Majesty's Answer to it.

he declared in writing, which he deliver'd to them, "That h
"was willing to grant the Body of their Proposition, that w
"to recall all Declarations, *&c.* But they immediately return
another Paper to him, in which they said, "His Majesty h
"left unanswer'd the most essential part of their Propositio
"repeating the words in the Preamble, which recited, "Th
"the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to ent
"into a War in their just and lawful defence; and that t
"Kingdom of *England* had enter'd into a solemn League a
"Covenant to prosecute the same; and so justifying all th
had been done, *&c.* To all which they very vehement
pressed "His Majesty's approbation and consent, as the m
"necessary foundation of a lasting Peace, and the indispe
"sable expectation of the two Houses and of the whole Kin
"dom; and that the two Houses, and the Kingdom, cou
"not decline this particular demand, without which th
"could not believe themselves to be in any security; sinc
"by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the P
"liament, might seem guilty of raising War against t
"King, and so to be guilty of High Treason by the Statu
"of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third: whereas by t
"Construction and Equity thereof they were justified; a
"therefore that the consenting to this Preamble was so esse
"tial, that without it the Parliament would be thought gu
"ty; which they hoped his Majesty did not desire it shou
"And that this might make the deeper impression upon hi
the Lord *Say*, in the Debate of it, twice repeated with m
passion than was natural to his Constitution, "That he
"tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if w
"they now pressed should be denied. And others said, "T
"it was no more than his Majesty had heretofore granted
"the Act of Indemnity that he had passed in *Scotland*; and
"he should now refuse to do it in *England*, there would b
"speedy end put to the Treaty, without entring upon a
"of the other Propositions. The King was so much p
plexed, and offended with this haughty way of reasoning, t
he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same
the Prince his Son, "That the long restraint he had endu
"in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence
"the Captivity of his Person, nor was he more sensible of
"than this was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his bei
"forced to decline those Answers and Arguments wh
"were proper to the support of his Cause, and which m
"have brought blushes over the Faces of the Commissione
"and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offer'd
"Men in that condition from him who was to receive, a
"not give conditions.

HOWEVE

HOWEVER, this Propoſition was of ſo horrid and monſtrous a Nature, ſo contrary to the known truth, and ſo deſtructive to Juſtice and Government, that it ſeem'd to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all poſterity, that his Majeſty could not forbear to tell them, That no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which was notoriouſly known to be falſe; that this Treaty muſt be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in queſtion; that he was moſt willing, that it ſhould be made very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provocation ſoever. He put them in mind, "That it was well known to ſome of them, that the Act of Indemnity in *Scotland* was paſſed when his Majeſty was not there, nor any Commiſſioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn by his Atturney General of that Kingdom, who was then of the Party that was againſt his Majeſty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called thoſe of his own ſide, Loyal Subjects, and good Chriſtians, in the Preamble of that Act; which was never ſeen by his Majeſty, though it was confirm'd indeed, with the other Acts which had paſſed in that diſorderly time, by his Majeſty upon the concluſion of the Peace, and their return to their Obedience; and that, when that ſhould be the caſe here, he would give them all the appellations they ſhould deſire, and as unqueſtionable ſecurity as they could wiſh. To all which they made no other Reply, and that unanimouſly, "But that they could not believe themſelves ſecure, if that Preamble was not entirely conſented to.

Diſpute concerning the Preamble of it.

THIS refractory obſtinate adherence of the Commiſſioners to their own Will, without any ſhadow of reaſon, prevailed nothing upon the King; inſomuch as he was inclined to run the hazard of the preſent diſſolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and miſchiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to ſacrifice his Honour, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe to their inſolent demand, until he had enter'd into a ſerious deliberation with thoſe Perſons who were about him, of whoſe affections to him he had all aſſurance, and of the great abilities, and underſtanding of moſt of them he had a very juſt eſteem. They all repreſented to him, from the Conference they had with ſuch of the Commiſſioners, who, they were confident, ſpoke to them as they thought and believ'd, "That if there were no expedient found out to give more ſatisfaction upon this firſt Propoſition, than his Majeſty had yet offer'd, aſſoon as the Commiſſioners ſhould give account of it to the two Houſes, they

"would be presently recall'd; and the Treaty be at an en
"And then it would be universally declar'd and believ'd, ho
"untrue soever the assertion was, that the King refused to
"cure the Parliament, and all who had adher'd to them, fro
"a Prosecution by Law; upon which they thought it to
"purpose to proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if
"Majesty had condescended to them in that particular, whi
"concern'd the Lives and Fortunes of their whole Party
"the Kingdom, they would have given him such satisfacti
"in all other particulars, as a full and happy Peace must ha
"ensued.

THEN the Lawyers inform'd him, "That his giving w
"to a recital in a new Law, which was not a Declarato
"Law of what the Law was formerly in being, concerni
"the business in question, and only in a Preamble to a La
"for recalling Declarations, *&c.* did not make their Actio
"lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take aw
"from those who had adher'd to him, any defence or bene
"the former Laws had given to them; nor would his Pa
"be in a worse condition than they had always been: for
"Majesty had always offer'd in all his Declarations, that th
"who follow'd him, and who were by them called Deli
"quents, should, at all times, submit to a Trial by the La
"of the Land, and if they should be found guilty of a
"Crime, they should not be protected by him. And it w
"evident, by their not prosecuting any one, since they we
"fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do n
"think their Transgressions can be punish'd by Law.

UPON these reasons, and the joynt advice and import
nity of all about him, as well the Divines as the Lawye
the King first deliver'd a Paper in writing to the Comm
sioners, in which he declar'd, "That nothing that should be p
"in writing concerning any Proposition, or part of any Pr
"position should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of,
"the Treaty should break off without effect: and the Cor
missioners presented another Paper in writing, in which th
fully consented to that Declaration in the very terms of t
said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass t

The King consents to it.

first Proposition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he sai
"That he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to
"yet he hoped his good Subjects would confess that it w
"but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and t
"Peace of his Dominions.

The second Proposition concerning Religion and the Church.

THE first Proposition being thus consented to as they coul
wish, they deliver'd their second concerning Religion an
"the Church; which comprehended, "The utter aboliſhin
"Episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishop
"Bishop

'Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, 'which should be sold to the use and benefit of the Common-'wealth; the Covenant; which was presented to his Ma-'jesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: The 'Common-Prayer, and Publick Liturgy of the Church to be 'abolish'd, and taken away; and that the Reformation of 'Religion, according to the Covenant, in such manner as 'both Houses had, or should agree, after consultation with 'Divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament: which, the King told them, "Exceeded the Implicit Faith of the Church 'of *Rome*; which rather obliges her Proselytes to what she 'Does hold, than to what she shall. It required "The 'establishing the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, 'the Articles of Christian Religion (a Body whereof they presented) "The suppressing Innovations in Churches; for the 'better advancement of Preaching, the observation of the 'Lord's day; a Bill against Pluralities and Non-residence; 'several Acts against Papists; and the taking and imposing 'the Covenant.

THIS pregnant Proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warn'd his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first Proposition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, "That the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give "them any security for their Lives and Fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the Commissioners a Proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly discern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would Sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single Proposition, or part of a Proposition, to break the Treaty.

The King offers a Proposition of his own; which the Commissioners refuse to send to the Houses.

HIS own Propositions contained, in very few words, but three Particulars: I. That he might enjoy his Liberty: "II. That his Revenue might be restored to him: III. That "an Act of Oblivion might pass: Which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seem'd to value it least, as it would exempt his own Friends from any illegal, and unjust vexations.

THE Commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no Authority to Answer it themselves. They said, "It rather contain'd an Answer to all their "Propositions, than was a single Proposition of his own; and "that the sole end of making it, was to cajole the People; which, the King told them, "Better became Him to do than "any Body else. But when they peremptorily refused to trans-

The King sends it by Messengers of his own; but it is Voted unsatisfactory.

mit it to the Houses, the King sent an Express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days deliberation the Houses return no other Answer to the King, "Than that "his Proposition was not satisfactory. In the mean time the Commissioners press'd for his Answer to the first part of their Proposition, for the abolishing of Bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the Dispute, and Arguments which were used on both sides upon this Subject The Commissioners, who would not suffer any of the King's Servants to be so much as present when any thing of the Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own Clergy upon the King; who was much better versed in the Argument than they were.

Their Ministers dispute with the King about the Bishops.

THAT which they urged most, was the common Allegations "That Bishop and Presbyter in the Scripture Language "signified one and the same thing: That, if the Apostles ex- "ercised a larger Jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as "Apostles, and concern'd not their Successors, to whom no "such Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority over "other Presbyters, who were of the same Function with them. Then they inveigh'd vehemently against "Lords Bishops; "their Pride, and Lustre; and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King, no more than to a Bishop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "That if he did not consent "to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he would be damn'd; with which his Majesty was not mov'd. The Men, *Jenkins*, and *Spurstow*, liv'd after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of People, came to kiss his Majesty's hand, and continued the same Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

THE King press'd them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by Bishops. The Commissioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, and urged, "That whatsoever was not of "Divine Institution might very lawfully be alter'd; for if it "had its Original from Men, it might by Men be changed, or "reversed: That Episcopacy as it was establish'd in the Church "by the Laws of *England*, was not that Episcopacy that was "mention'd or prescribed in Scripture; and therefore the "Laws, which supported it, might be justly taken away; "which, they said, was the reason that had induced many

"Men

Men who were not Enemies to Epiſcopacy, to take the Covenant; which obliged them to take the preſent Hierarchy away.

In a word they urged, "The practice of other Reform'd Churches, and that his Majeſty inſiſting upon the preſervation of Epiſcopacy, as eſſentially neceſſary, was to reproach and condemn Them. To which he Anſwer'd, "That both *Calvin* and *Beza*, and moſt Learned Men of the Reform'd Churches, had approv'd, and commended the Epiſcopal Government in *England*; and many of them had bewailed themſelves, that they were not permitted to retain that Government.

Besides all their Arguments in publick, which his Majeſty with wonderful acuteneſs fully Anſwer'd, and deliver'd his Anſwers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertiſe the King, that is, ſuch of them who were known to wiſh well to him, "That they were of his Majeſty's judgment with reference to the Government, which they hoped might yet be preſerv'd, but not by the method his Majeſty purſued: that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the Crown, was in dividing the Parliament from the Army; which could be only done by his giving ſatisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which would unite the Parliament in it ſelf, ſome few Perſons excepted and the City to the Parliament; where the Presbyterians were moſt powerful; and this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their Army; and to disband thoſe who would not be reform'd: That then the King would be remov'd to *London*, to perfect that by his own preſence in Parliament, which ſhould be prepared by this Treaty; and then the wording thoſe Bills, and the formality of paſſing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which being now attempted, would deſtroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the Army; which would deſtroy the King: But then, what the King urged as matter of Conſcience in himſelf would find reſpect, reverence, and concurrence. No doubt they who did make theſe Inſinuations, did in truth believe themſelves; and did think, as well as wiſh, that the ſequel would be ſuch as they foretold. But that which had more Authority with the King, and which no body about him could put him in mind of, becauſe none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promiſed concerning the Church to the *Scots*, in the Engagement at the Iſle of *Wight*; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the Preſbyterians in *England*; and he thought that whatever he had promiſed

promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability c
raising an Army, he might reasonably now offer when tha
Army was destroy'd, and no hope left of raising another
And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the sam
The King's Concessions on this point. he had then promised to do; which was, "To suspend Epi
"copacy for three years, and then upon consultation with D
"vines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be pre
"sent, and to consult with them, such a Government of th
"Church as should be agreed upon might be established: Tha
"he would not force any Man to take the Covenant, an
"would have the Privilege of his own Chappel to use th
"Common-Prayer, and observe the same Worship he ha
"used to do; and that all Persons, who desired it, might hav
"liberty to take the Covenant, and to use the Directory; i
fine, he consented to all that he had offer'd in that Engag
ment with reference to the Government of the Church
and likewise, "That Money should be raised upon the sale
"the Church Lands, and only the old Rent should be reserv
"to the just owners and their Successors. These, with som
other concessions of less importance, which related to oth
Branches of the same Proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he d
liver'd to the Commissioners as his final Answer; which th
Major part of them, did then believe would have preserv
his Majesty from farther importunity and vexation in th
particular.

The third Proposition concerning the Militia. THE next Proposition was concerning the Militia; whic
was their Darling, and distinguish'd the *Scots* from the *En*
lish Presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade th
unquestionable Prerogative of the Crown; the latter being i
truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Pre
bytery it self; and in that particular concurr'd even wit
Cromwell, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in
short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modest
and to abridge the substance of it in few words, they requir
"a power to keep up the present Army, and to raise wh
"other Armies they pleased for the future; which gave the
"Authority over the Persons of all Subjects, of what degre
"or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise Money f
"the use and maintenance of those Forces, in such a manne
"and by such ways and means, as they should think fit. An
hereby they had had the disposal of the Estates and Fortun
of all Men without restraint, or limitation. Thirdly, "A
"Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and disposed
"They should think fit, and not otherwise. All this mode
Power and Authority "Must be granted to the Lords an
"Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not bee
enough, they required farther, "That in all Cases, when th
"Lor

"Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the King-
"dom to be concern'd, unless the King give his Royal Assent
"to such a Bill as shall be render'd to him for raising Money,
"the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he
"had given his Royal Assent.

THERE were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to please them, and He reserve some to himself for his own Security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "That the Inha-
"bitants of every County should be the standing Militia of
"the Kingdom to be drawn out of the Counties upon any
"occasions which should occur; which would prevent all ex-
cessive Taxes and Impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discern'd that such a Proposition would be presently called a Conspiracy against the Army, and so put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "That none should be com-
"pell'd to serve in the War against their Wills, but in case of
"an Invasion by Forreign Enemies: That the Power concern-
"ing the Land Forces should be exercised to no other pur-
"poses, than for the suppressing of Forces which might at any
"time be raised without the Authority and Consent of the
"Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and main-
"taining the Forts and Garrisons, and the present Army, so
"long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parlia-
"ment: That what Monies should at any time be thought
"necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal
"Taxes, and Impositions; and lastly, that all Patents and
"Commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the
"King's Name, by Warrant signified by the Lords and Com-
"mons, or such other signification as they should direct, and
"authorise.

The King's Answer.

THESE Limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon Voted "That
"the Message was unsatisfactory. Hereupon that he might at least leave some Monument and Record of his care and tenderness of his People (for after his extorted Concessions to the so great Prejudice of the Church, he never consider'd what might

This Voted by the Parliament unsatisfactory.

might be dangerous to his own Person) he deliver'd his consent to the Proposition it self to the Commissioners, with a Preamble to this purpose; "That whereas their Proposition con-
The King consents to it with a Preamble.
"cerning the Militia, requir'd a far larger power over the Per-
"sons and Estates of his Subjects, than had been ever hitherto
"warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, yet in
"regard the present distractions might require more, and trust
"ing in his two Houses of Parliament, that they would make
"no farther use of the power therein mention'd, after the
"present distempers should be settled, than should be agree
"able to the legal Exercise thereof in times past, and for the
"purposes particularly mention'd in their Proposition, and to
"give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament that he
"intends a full security to them, and to express his real de
"sires to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majesty doth
"consent to the Proposition concerning the Militia as it was
"desired. This the Commissioners did by no means like
nor would acquiesce in, and alledged, "That as the Conces
"sion must be the Subject of an Act of Parliament, so this
"Preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occa
"sion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it
"which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted
"in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a one as is to
"be the principal Foundation of a lasting Peace of the King
"dom. After much vexation of this kind, and importunity
At last consents to it without the Preamble.
of Friends, as well as of Enemies, and being almost as weary
of denying as of granting, he suffer'd the Preamble to be let
out, and his consent to be deliver'd without it.

IT may be well wonder'd at, that, after having so far com
plied with these three Propositions, there should be any pause
or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concern
ing the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both
the Church and the Militia of *Ireland* follow'd the Fate o
England, and were in effect comprehended in the same Propo
sitions: so that there remain'd nothing more with reference
The fourth Proposition concerning Ireland.
to that Kingdom, "But declaring the Peace that was made
"there with the *Irish*, to be void; which they pressed with
the same passion, as if they had obtain'd nothing; although
his Majesty referr'd the carrying on the War to them, and
told them, "That he knew nothing of the Peace, which had
"been made during his Imprisonment, when he could re-
"ceive no Advertisement of what was doing, or done; and
"therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the
"War be carried on in such a manner as should please Them;
which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they
desired. But this did by no means please them. If the Peace
were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily

take

take that vengeance of the Marquis of *Ormond* as they resolv'd to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concern'd Himself, and the Publick, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling complyance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they press'd his consent to what only concern'd private and particular Persons, as the revoking all Honours and Grants of Offices which he had conferr'd upon those who had serv'd him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two Houses, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several Professions, and Functions (which expos'd all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be express'd with what grief, and trouble of mind he receiv'd those importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the Argument "That he had done so much, was now press'd upon him (by his Friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) "That he should do more; "and since he had condescended to many things which gave "himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to "the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the "Kingdom that Peace and Security he desired.

Some other particulars the King at first sticks at.

MANY Advertisements came from his Friends in *London*, and from other places, "That it was high time that the Treaty "were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majesty's "Answers before them, to determine what they would do "upon them, before the Army drew nearer *London*, which, "infallibly, it would shortly do, assoon as those in the North "had finish'd their work. It was now near the end of *October*, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the Treaty was the fourth of *November*; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his Majesty's consent was procured to most that was demanded in the rest of the Propositions; the King, and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

But consents at last.

THE King had, about the middle of *October*, again deliver'd his own Proposition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commissioners; which they receiv'd. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refused to transmit it the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so assoon as they receiv'd it. But no answer was return'd. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty

The Commissioners now send the King's own Proposition to the Parliament.

Majesty demanded of them, "Whether they had receiv'd any "Instructions to treat upon, or to give an Answer to his own "Proposition, which he had deliver'd to them so long since "or whether they had receiv'd any Order to prolong the "Treaty? To which they Answer'd, "They had not as to "either. And when he asked them the same Question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same Answer. So that the whole forty days assign'd for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer to the single Proposition the King had made to them. However they told him, "They had receiv'd new Command to "make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he would forthwith

They require a Declaration of the King against the Marquis of Ormond.

"publish a Declaration against the Marquis of *Ormond*; who "had very lately declared, that he had Authority to make "Peace with the *Irish* Rebels; and was then treating with "them to that purpose. To which his Majesty Answer'd

His Majesty's Answer.

"that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any Declaration against the Marquis; since that of the Treaty should "end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfied by "the Concessions he had already made; and so adhered to his first Answer. And conceiving the Treaty to be closed he desired the Commissioners "That since he had departed "from so much of his own Right to give his two Houses satisfaction, They would be a means that he might be pressed "no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them "in, had so near relation to his Conscience, that, with the "Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desir'd them "to use the same eloquence, and abilities, by which they had "prevail'd with Him, in representing to the two Houses the "sad condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preserv'd by "this Treaty. And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their Personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any Bowels.

ALL this being past, and the King believing and expecting that the Commissioners would take their leave of him the next Morning, they came the same Night to inform him, "That they had then receiv'd new Orders and Instructions for

The Parliament enlarges the Treaty 14 days longer.

"the continuing and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days "longer; for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houses who wished well to him, desire that Prolongation. For it was easily discern'd, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the Treaty it self should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places: and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance

inuance of the Treaty was the beſt ſign that both ſides de-
red Peace: and it quickly appear'd, by the new inſtances
hey made, that delay was their only buſineſs. The Commiſ-
oners, with new importunity, and bitterneſs, begun upon
heir new inſtructions "That the King would immediately
publiſh the Declaration againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*, with-
ut any other reaſons than thoſe which he had Anſwer'd be-
ore. His Majeſty Anſwer'd "There was no other difference
between them but in point of time, whether preſently, or
at the concluſion of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had
the ſubſtance of their deſire already granted; and if there
were no Peace, they had reaſon to believe that no Declara-
tion he ſhould make would be believ'd or obeyed; and ſo
dhered to what he had anſwer'd formerly.

The Commiſſioners renew their demand about Ormond.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

THEN they declar'd, "That the Parliament was not ſatiſ-
fied with his Conceſſions with reference to the Church; that
the Presbyterian Government could be exerciſed with lit-
tle profit, or comfort, if it ſhould appear to be ſo ſhort-liv'd
as to continue but for three years; and that they muſt there-
fore preſs the utter extirpating the Function of Biſhops.
hen, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was
ſiſted on; whereas by the King's Conceſſions, the old
ent was ſtill reſerv'd to them. They ſaid, "The Parliament
did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conſcience;
nd to that end, they added more reaſons to convince him in
e ſeveral points. They repeated their old diſtinction be-
ween the Scripture-Biſhop, and the Biſhop by Law. For the
bſolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Prece-
ents of what had been done in former times upon conve-
ience, or neceſſity, not ſo viſible and manifeſt as appear'd at
reſent; and concluded with their uſual threat, "That the con-
ſequence of his denial would be the continuance of the pu-
blick diſturbances.

They urge farther about the Church.

TO all which his Majeſty anſwer'd, "That, for the Presby-
terian Government, they might remember that their own
rſt order for the ſettling it, was only for three years;
which they then thought a competent time for a Probatio-
nary Law, that contain'd ſuch an alteration in the State; and
therefore they ought to think the ſame now: and that it
might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that
time bear the teſt, and examination of it; and that nothing
could be a greater honour to that diſcipline, than its being
able to bear the teſt and examination. He ſaid, "He was
well pleaſed with their Expreſſion, that they did not intend
to force his Conſcience; yet the manner of preſſing him
looked very like it, after he had ſo ſolemnly declared that it
was againſt his Conſcience; that he did concur with them

The King's Anſwer.

in

"in their distinction of Bishops, and if they would preserv
"the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishop b
"Law. He confessed, "That Necessity might justify, or e
"cuse many things, but it could never warrant him to depriv
"the Church of God of an Order instituted for continual us
"and for establishing a Succession of Lawful Ministers in th
"Church. For the point of Sacrilege, he said, "The concu
"rent opinion of all Divines was a much better informatic
"to his Conscience, what is Sacrilege, than any Preceden
"or Law of the Land could be. Upon the whole matter, h
adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars, and co
cluded, "That he could with more comfort cast himself upc
"God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from a
"Afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, tha
"deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, fo
"any Politick consideration that might seem to be a mea
"to restore him.

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the Trea was to end, they deliver'd to the King the Votes which th two Houses had passed concerning and upon his own Messag (which had lain so long in their hands unanswer'd) whic were in effect, I. "That from and after such time as th "Agreements upon this Treaty should be ratified by Acts "Parliament, all his Houses, Mannors, and Lands, with th "growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other Legal R "venue of the Crown should be restored to him, liable to th "maintenance of those Ancient Forts, and Castles, and suc "other Legal Charges as they were formerly charged witha "or liable to. II. That he should be then likewise restitue "in a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, agreeable t "the Laws of the Land. III. That an Act of Indemnity shoul "be then passed with such exceptions and limitations as shoul "be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be de "clared by Act of Parliament, that nothing contain'd in h "Majesty's Propositions should be understood or made use "to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any Agree "ment in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant, or Commissio "agreed upon by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Pa "liament, in pursuance thereof; in all which his Majesty ac quiesced.

The Parliament's Votes upon the King's former Proposition.

The time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty wa to end upon the one and twentieth of *November*, and th Commissioners believ'd it so absolutely concluded, that the took their leave of the King, and early the next Mornin went to *Cows* Harbour to Embark themselves. But the Tyd not serving to Transport them out of the Island, that Nigh a Messenger arriv'd with Directions to them to continue th

Another Prolongation of the Treaty till Nov. 25.

Treat

Treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they return'd and acquainted his Majesty with it.

The Declaration of the Army.

AT the same time, the thundring Declaration of the Army was publish'd; which declar'd the full resolution "To change "the whole frame of the Government, and that they would "be contented with no less an alteration; which as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since their Interest was no less threaten'd than His.

The Commissioners new Propositions against Delinquents since Jan. 1647. *and others, especially the Marquis of* Ormond.

THE fresh instances the Commissioners made, were upon several Votes which had passed the two Houses against Delinquents; and a new Proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the Parliament since the last *January*, and particularly against the Marquis of *Ormond*. They proposed, "That there should be seven Persons, the "Lord *New-Castle*, and six others (who were named) "Who "should be excepted from pardon, and their Estates for-"feited: that the Delinquents, in the several Classes men-"tion'd in their Proposition, should pay for their Composi-"tion, some a Moiety, others a third part of their Estates, and "other Rates, as they were set down; and that all who had "been engaged in the Land or Sea-Service since *January* 1647, "should pay a full years value of their whole Estates more "than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been "against the Parliament should presume to come within either "of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or "be capable of any Office or Preferment, or of serving in Par-"liament, for the space of three years; and that all Clergy Men "who had been against the Parliament, should be deprived "of all their Preferments, Places, and Promotions; which "should be void all if they were naturally dead. To these

The King's Answer.

the King answer'd, that, "To the excepting the seven Per-"sons named from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Estates, "his Answer was, that, if they were proceeded against ac-"cording to the ancient established Laws, and could not ju-"stify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their "behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, joyn him-"self in any Act for taking away the Life or Estate of any that "had adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be paid "for Composition, he referr'd it to the two Houses of Parlia-"ment, and to the Persons themselves, who would be con-"tented to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they "might be moderately dealt with. And for the Clergy Men, "whose Preferments he well knew were already disposed of,

and in the hands of another kind of Clergy, who had deserv'd so well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his Majesty desired, "That they might be "allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such "time that they, or the present Incumbents, should be bet- "ter provided for. As to the Marquis of *Ormond*, against whom they pressed what they had before done with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answer'd, "That since what he "had said before (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "Did not give them satisfaction, he had written "a Letter (which he deliver'd to them, to be sent, and read to them) "In which he directed him to desist; and said, if he "refused to submit to his Command, he would then publish "such a Declaration against his power and his proceedings, as "they desired.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty for a day, wherein they present two Propositions more.

AND now the second limitation of time for the Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another Vote: which continued it for a day longer, with a Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thursday* Morning, which was the eight and twentieth of *November*: and thereupon they presented two Propositions to his Majesty, which were to be dispatched that day.

One concerning Scotland.

THE Two Propositions they sent for one days work, were the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded, "The King's consent "to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should "be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the securities "of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the "Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving "happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for "the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in

To that the King's Answer.

mind, "That at the beginning of the Treaty they had inform'd "him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning "*England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to "meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they "had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which "was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demanded "of them, whether their Commission was enlarged? which they confess'd "Was not; and that they had presented that "Paper only in obedience to the Order they had receiv'd". So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "That the King had re- "jected whatsoever was tender'd to him on the behalf of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answer'd "that as he would joyn in any Agreement, to be confirm'd "by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy

"an

"and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their "mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; "so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with "them; but for any new Engagement, or confederacy, which "they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, "and be advised with in the making it, before he would pro- "mise to confirm it. The other business with reference to the Church gave him much more trouble. The Commis- sioners pressed him "To consider the Exigence of time, and that "there was not a whole day left to determine the Fate of the "Kingdom; and that nothing could unite the Counsels of "those who wished and desired Peace, and to live happily un- "der his Subjection and Obedience, against the bold attempts "of the Army, which had enough declared and manifested "what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in "what they demanded in that particular. His own Council, and the Divines, besought him "To consider the safety of his "own Person, even for the Church's and his People's sakes, "who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserv'd, "which could not but be attended with many Blessings: "whereas, if He were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility "to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity "that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was "not Sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which "occurr'd to them, the Order which He, with so much Piety "and Zeal, endeavour'd to preserve, was much more like to "be destroy'd by his not complying, than by his suspending "it till his Majesty and his two Houses should agree upon a "future Government; which, they said, much differ'd from "an abolition of it.

The other touching the Church.

HEREUPON he gave them his final Answer, "That after "such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the business "of the Church, he had expected not to be farther press'd "therein; it being his judgment, and his conscience. He said, "he could not, as he was then inform'd, abolish Episcopacy "out of the Church; yet because he apprehended how fatal "new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and that he be- "liev'd his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made "manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would "comply with their Demands, if he were convinced in his "Conscience, he did therefore again desire a Consultation "with Divines, in the manner he had before proposed, and "would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal power, as "well in point of Ordination of Ministers, as of Jurisdiction, "till He and the two Houses should agree what Government "should be establish'd for the future. For Bishop's Lands, he "could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the

The King's final Answer.

"Church, but would conſent that Leaſes for Lives, or Years, "not exceeding ninety nine, ſhould be made for the ſatiſ- "faction of Purchaſers or Contractors; little differing from the Anſwer he had formerly given to this laſt particular: and in all the reſt he adhered to his former Anſwers. And the Commiſſioners, having receiv'd this his final Anſwer, took their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Journey to wards *London*.

The Sum of the King's Letter to his Son concerning the whole Treaty.

THE King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son be fore the firſt forty days were expired, and continued it, a the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the hour it was concluded and finiſhed it the nine and twentieth of *November* after th Commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exac Copy of all the Papers which had paſſed in the Treaty, i the order in which they were paſſed, fairly engroſſed by on of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter it ſelf was all i his own hand, and contain'd above ſix Sheets of Paper; i which he made a very particular relation of all the motive and reaſons which had prevailed with him, or over him, t make thoſe Conceſſions; out of which moſt of this relatio is extracted. And it is almoſt evident, that the Major pa of both Houſes of Parliament was, at that time, ſo far from de ſiring the execution of all thoſe conceſſions, that, if they ha been able to have teſiſted the wild fury of the Army, the would have been themſelves Suitors to have declined th greateſt part of them. That which ſeem'd to afflict him moſt next what referr'd to the Church and Religion, and which he ſaid, "Had a large ſhare in his conſcientious conſideration: was the hard meaſure his Friends were ſubjected to; for whoſ Intereſt he did verily believe he ſhould better provide i the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to d in the Preliminaries. For, he ſaid, "He could not but think "that all who were willing that he ſhould continue the "King, and to live under his Government, would be fa "from deſiring in the concluſion to leave ſo foul a Bran "upon his Party, of which they would all deſire to be ac "counted for the time to come. However, he hoped tha "all his Friends would conſider, not what he had ſubmitte "to, but how much he had endeavour'd to relieve them from and conjured the Prince his Son, "That the leſs he had bee "able himſelf to do for them, the more, if God bleſſed hin "He ſhould acknowledge and ſupply. He ſaid, "He woul "willingly forget in how high degree ſome Subjects had bee "diſloyal, but never had a Prince a Teſtimony in others o "more Loyalty than He had had; and however that Goo "for their, and his puniſhment, had not bleſſed ſome of the "Endeavours, yet, he ſaid, more miſguided Perſons were "ſal

"laſt reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any ſtory be "exampled; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how "dangerous the neglect of ſeaſonable duty is; and that Men "cannot eaſily fix when they pleaſe what they have unneceſſa-"rily ſhaken. The concluſion of the Letter, as it was dated, the five and twentieth of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional paſſages upon the enlargement of time) deſerves to be preſerv'd in Letters of Gold, and gives the beſt Character of that excellent Prince; and was in theſe words.

The Concluſion of that Letter in the King's own words.

"By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long we have la-"bour'd in the ſearch of Peace: do not You be diſhearten'd "to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy ways to reſtore "your ſelf to your Right, but prefer the way of Peace: ſhew "the greatneſs of your mind, if God bleſs you (and let Us "comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that "though Affliction may make us paſs under the cenſures of "Men, yet we look upon it ſo, as if it procure not, by "God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance, it will to You a bleſſing) "rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than puniſh-"ing. If You ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the im-"placable diſpoſition is in our Ill-Willers, you would avoid "that Spirit. Cenſure Us not for having parted with ſo much "of our own Right; the price was great, but the commodity "was ſecurity to Us, Peace to our People: and we were con-"fident, another Parliament would remember how uſeful a "King's power is to a People's liberty; of how much thereof "We deveſted Our ſelf, that We and They might meet once "again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of "Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Expe-"rience, never to affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative, than "that which is really and intrinſically for the Good of Sub-"jects, not the ſatisfaction of Favourites. If you thus uſe it, "you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a boun-"tiful Prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. "You may perceive all Men entruſt their Treaſure where it re-"turns them Intereſt; and if Princes, like the Sea, receive, and "repay all the freſh ſtreams the River entruſts with them, they "will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them up an "Ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make You as great a Prince, "as your Father is now a low one; and Your State may be ſo "much the more eſtabliſh'd, as Mine hath been ſhaken. For "our Subjects have learn'd (we dare ſay) that Victories over "their Princes are but Triumphs over themſelves; and ſo will "be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The *En-"gliſh* Nation are a ſober People, however at preſent infatuated.

"We know not but this may be the laſt time We may "ſpeak to you, or the World, publickly: We are ſenſible "into what hands We are fallen; and yet, We bleſs God, "We have thoſe inward refreſhments the Malice of our Ene- "mies cannot perturb. We have learn'd to buſy Our ſelf by "retiring into Our ſelf; and therefore can the better digeſt "what befalls Us; not doubting but God's Providence will "reſtrain Our Enemies power, and turn their Fierceneſs to "his Praiſe.

"To conclude, If God gives you Succeſs, uſe it humbly "and far from Revenge. If He reſtore you to your Right "upon hard Conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Theſe "Men, who have forced Laws, which they were bound to "preſerve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not "think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by foul "and unjuſt means.

"You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct you to "weigh what We here recommend to you, ſo We aſſure "you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom "We are a natural Parent) than We do, that the ancient "Glory and Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreli- "gion and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects (to "whom We are a Politick Parent) may have ſuch ſober "thoughts, as to ſeek their Peace in the Orthodox profeſſion "of the Chriſtian Religion, as was eſtabliſh'd ſince the Re- "formation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; "and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according "to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about "Them: that you may in due time govern, and They be "govern'd, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father *C. R.*

Newport 25th *Nov.* 1648.

When the Treaty laſted, it was believ'd that his Majeſty might have made his eſcape; which moſt Men who wiſh'd him well, thought in all reſpects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himſelf was inclined to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the reſtraint he had endured. But he did receive ſome diſcouragement from purſuing that purpoſe, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great Trouble of mind. It cannot be imagin'd how wonderfully fearful ſome Perſons in *France* were that he ſhould have made his Eſcape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderneſs of his ſafety, but from the apprehenſion they had, that the little reſpect they would have ſhew'd him there, would have been greater mortification to him than all that he could ſuffer

ſuffer by the cloſeſt impriſonment. And ſure there was, at that time, no Court in *Chriſtendom* ſo honourably, or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have been glad to have ſeen him; and it might be ſome reaſon that they who wiſh'd him very well, did not wiſh his Eſcape, becauſe they believ'd Impriſonment was the worſt his worſt Enemies intended towards him; ſince they might that way more reaſonably found, and ſettle their Republican Government; which Men could not ſo prudently propoſe to bring to paſs by a Murder; which, in the inſtant, gave the juſt Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to diſpute it: I ſay, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and Declarations of no more Addreſſes, when his Treatment was ſo barbarous, his Majeſty had propoſed to himſelf to make an Eſcape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but ſuch Perſons who were placed by thoſe who wiſhed worſt to his Safety; and therefore choſe ſuch Inſtruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Amongſt thoſe there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deſerv'd not to be ſuſpected by *Cromwell* himſelf) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be placed in ſome near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitneſs of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Uſher; which gave him opportunity to be almoſt always in the preſence of the King. This young Man, after ſome Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he uſed towards thoſe who were always about him, to have a tenderneſs and loyal Senſe of his Sufferings; and did really deſire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman Uſher he uſually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and firſt took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he expreſs'd his Devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Profeſſions of a Perſon he knew ſo little, and who, he knew, would not be ſuffer'd to be about him, if he were thought to have thoſe Inclinations. However, after longer obſervation, and ſometimes ſpeaking to him whilſt he was walking amongſt others in the Garden allow'd for that purpoſe, his Majeſty begun to believe that there was ſincerity in him; and ſo frequently put ſome Memorial into the fingers of his Glove, and by the ſame expedient receiv'd advertiſement from him.

THERE was in the Garriſon one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts;

who, from a Common Soldier, had been truſted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inſpired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himſelf from ſpeaking maliciouſly and wickedly againſt the King, when diſſimulation was at the higheſt amongſt the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Perſon he came recommended to that Truſt, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and ſo, according to his cuſtom of reviling the King, he wiſh'd "He "were out of the World; for they ſhould never make any "Settlement whilſt he was alive. He ſaid, he was ſure the "Army wiſh'd him dead, and that *Hammond* had receiv'd "many Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poyſon "or any other way; but he ſaw it would never be done in "that Place; and therefore, if he would joyn with him, they "would get him from thence; and then the work would eaſily be done. *Osborne* ask'd him, "How it could be poſſi"ble to remove Him from thence, without *Hammond*'s, or "the King's own conſent? *Rolph* Anſwer'd, "That the King "might be decoy'd from thence, as he was from *Hampton* "Court, by ſome Letters from his Friends, of ſome danger "that threaten'd him, upon which he would be willing to "make an Eſcape; and then he might eaſily be diſpatched. *Osborne* ſhortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An Attempt for the King's Eſcape.

THE King bid him "Continue his familiarity with *Rolph*, "and to promiſe to joyn with him in contriving how his Ma"jeſty ſhould make an eſcape; and he hoped thereby to make *Rolph*'s Villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the Common Soldiers to *Osborne*, "Who, he ſaid, he thought, might be truſted; and wiſh'd him "To truſt "one *Doucet*; whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back ſtairs, and was indeed an honeſt Man; for it was impoſſible for him to make an Eſcape, without the privity of ſuch Perſons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Caſtle, as well as help him from thence. *Osborne* told *Rolph*, "He was confident "he ſhould in the end perſwade the King to attempt an "Eſcape, though he yet ſeem'd jealous and apprehenſive of be"ing diſcover'd, and taken again. *Doucet* concurr'd very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was choſen by the King, prov'd likewiſe very honeſt, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who uſed to ſtand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had,

with

with wonderful trouble, saw'd an Iron Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers inform'd *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and stand Sentinel in the same place to which he had been assign'd; and he, and some others trusted by him, were Arm'd, and stood very near with their Pistols. At midnight the King came to the Window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discern'd more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compell'd to call out for help; which was a meer fiction.

ROLPH acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had design'd; who presently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seised upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Island, or conceal'd in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to insult upon *Doucet* in Prison, and scornfully ask'd him, "Why his King came not forth when he was at the Win-"dow? and said, "He was ready with a good Pistol charg'd "to have receiv'd him. When *Osborne* had got into a place of present safety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "To acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon the "King's Life, and that he would be ready to appear and ju-"stify the Conspiracy. That Lord, after he had kept the Letter some time, sent it to *Hammond*, as the fittest Person to examine the truth of the Relation. *Osborne* was not discouraged with all this; but sent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and inclosed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord *Wharton*. In the House of Commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the House of Peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the Commons, "That *Rolph* might "be sent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to *Osborne* to ap-"pear, and prosecute.

Osborne accuses Rolph *for a design upon the King's Life.*

ROLPH brought with him a large Testimonial from *Hammond* of "His Integrity, and of the many good Services he "had done to the State. *Osborne* appear'd likewise at the Lords

Lords Bar, and made good upon Oath all that is before fa down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The Hou of Commons had no mind to have it examin'd farther, bu the clamour of the People was so great, that, after many de lays, they Voted "That it should be try'd at the General A "sizes at *Winchester*." And thither they sent their well try Serjeant *Wild*, to be the sole Judge of that Circuit: befor whom the Major part of the same Jury that had found Ca tain *Burley* guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of *Rolp Osborne*, and *Doucet*, who upon Bail had liberty to be ther appear'd to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oath declar'd all that *Rolph* had said to them, as is set down befor The Prisoner if he may be call'd a Prisoner who was und no restraint, had two Lawyers assign'd to be of Council wi him, contrary to the Law and Custom in those Cases; b he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge hir self; who told the Jury, "That it was a business of great in "portance that was before them; and therefore that th "should take heed what they did in it: that there Was "time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treason, b "God forbid it should be so now: how did any body kno "but that those two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucet*, would ha "made away the King, and that *Rolph* charg'd his Pistol "preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried hi "away to have engaged them in a second War. He to them, "They were mistaken who did believe the King "Prison; the Parliament did only keep him safe to save th "shedding of more Blood. Upon these good directions, th Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this w some little time before the Treaty.

The Commissioners report of the Treaty to the Parliament.

WHEN the Commissioners who had treated with the Kin at the Isle of *Wight*, were return'd to the Parliament, the report took up many days in the House of Commons, whe the Resolution was first to be taken; which commonly w final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the othe thought fit to determine. The Question upon the whole wa "Whether the Answer that the King had made to their Pr "positions, was satisfactory? which was debated with all th Virulence, and Acrimony towards each other, that can b from Men so possessed as both sides were.

A long and sharp Debate upon it.

Sr Harry Vane's *Speech concerning it.*

YOUNG Sr *Harry Vane* had begun the Debate with th highest Insolence, and Provocation; telling them, "That th "should that day know and discover, who were their Friend "and who were their Foes; or, that he might speak mo "plainly, who were the King's Party in the House, and wh "were for the People; and so proceeded with his usual gra bitterness against the Person of the King, and the Gover

me

ient that had been too long Settled; put them in mind, that they had been diverted from their old ſettled Reſolution and Declaration, that they would make no more Addreſſes to the King; after which the Kingdom had been govern'd in great Peace, and begun to taſte the ſweet of that Republican Government which they intended and begun to eſtabliſh, when by a Combination between the City of *London* and an ill affected Party in *Scotland*, with ſome ſmall contemptible Inſurrections in *England*, all which were fomented by the City, the Houſes had, by clamour and noiſe, been induced and compell'd to reverſe their former Votes and Reſolution, and enter into a Perſonal Treaty with the King; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithſtanding the low Condition he was in, to give them any ſecurity; but he had ſtill reſerv'd a power in himſelf, or at leaſt to his Poſterity, to exerciſe as Tyrannical a Government as he had done: that all the Inſurrections, which had ſo terrified them, were now totally ſubdued; and the principal Authors and Abettors of them in their Cuſtody, and ready to be brought to Juſtice, if they pleaſed to direct, and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scotland* were reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correſpondence with their Brethren, the Parliament of *England*; ſo that there was nothing wanting, but their own Conſent and Reſolution, to make themſelves the happieſt Nation and People in the World; and to that purpoſe deſir'd, that they might without any more loſs of time, return to their former Reſolution of making no more Addreſſes to the King; but proceed to the ſettling the Government without him, and to the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who had diſturbed their peace and quiet, in ſuch an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other Men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might ſee would be moſt grateful to their Army, which had merited ſo much from them by the Remonſtrance they had ſo lately publiſh'd.

THIS diſcourſe appear'd to be exceedingly diſliked, by that nd of Murmur which uſually ſhews how the Houſe ſtands clined, and by which Men make their judgments there, of e ſucceſs that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance to the Debate, were taken notice of with equal ſharpneſs; id, "His preſumption in taking upon himſelf to divide the Houſe, and to cenſure their Affections to the Publick, as their ſenſe and judgment ſhould agree, or diſagree with his own. One ſaid, "That ſince he had, without Example, taken ſo much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was aſſumed by other Men; and that it was as law-

"ful

"full for another Man, who said he was no gainer by th
"Troubles, to make another Division of the House, and t
"say, that they should find in the Debate of that day th
"there were some who were desirous of Peace; and that The
"were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the War; an
"that others were against Peace; and that They by the W
"had gained large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, ar
"much Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that th
"Gainers might contribute to the Losers, if they would n
"consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and th
"other possess what they had got, by a Peace that might l
"happy for both.

The large Remonstrance of the Army brought to the House by six Officers.

WHILST this was debating in the House, which con
nued several days, six Officers, from the head Quarters
Windsor, whither the Army had been brought before, or
the time when the Treaty ended at the Isle of *Wight*, broug
their large Remonstrance to the House; in which they d
sir'd, "That there might be no farther proceedings upon t
"Treaty; but that they would return to their former determ
"nation of no farther Addresses, and make what haste th
"could in settling the Government: that the bargaining Pr
"position on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only upo
"a Contract with the King, and not in any Judicial wa
"might be laid aside; and that publick Justice might be do
"upon the principal Actors in the late Trouble, and th
"others, upon a true Submission, might find Mercy: that
"peremptory day might be set, when the Prince of *Wales*, a
"the Duke of *York*, should be requir'd to appear; which
"they should not do, they should stand exiled as Traitor
"and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to ma
"some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parl
"ment, and a new Representative chosen of the People, l
"the governing and preserving the whole Body of the N
"tion. That no King might be hereafter admitted but up
"Election of the People, and as upon trust for the Peop
"who should be likewise limited and restrain'd by the R
"presentative, with many other impracticable Particula
which troubled the Parliament the less for their incoheren
and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

The King taken from Carisbrooke *Castle and carried to* Hurst *Castle.*

BUT that which troubled most, and indeed which awake
them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they w
advertised, that the King was taken away from *Carisbro*
Castle by an Officer of the Army, and carried to *Hurst* Cast
not far from the other, but Situated on the main Land, a
in so vile and unwholesome an Air, that the Common Gua
there used to be frequently changed for the preservation
their health. Colonel *Hammond* had, before the expiration

he Treaty writ many Letters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that Government, and from the care of the King's Person; and the Officers of the Army seem'd wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the Treaty was so sooner ended (and before the Commissioners begun their Report to the Houses) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take he Person of the King, and to carry him to *Hurst* Castle.

THIS News being brought when they were in the heat of he Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that consult, and immediately Voted, "That the seising upon the King's Person, and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst* Castle, was without Their advice and consent: which Vote had little contradiction; because no Man would own the Advice. Then hey caused a Letter to be written to the General, "That the Orders and Instructions to Colonel *Ewre* (the Officer who ad seised the King) "Were contrary to their Resolutions, and Instructions to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the House, that he should recall those Orders; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again resume the care of the King's Person. But the General, without aking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army; and old them, "That unless there were present Money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to remove the Army, and to draw them nearer to *London*. And at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy Members moved, "That the Army might be declared Traitors, if they presumed to march nearer *London* than they were at present; and that an impeachment of High Treason might be drawn up against the principal Officers of it. Hereupon, he General marches directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham* House, the *Mues*, *Covent* Garden, *Westminster*, and St *James's*; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience night fall out, they sent to the City without delay to supply orty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy he Army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons retain'd it's Courage, and were esolute "To assert the Treaty; and that the King's Answers were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that the House might, and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of Peace in Church and State, rather "than

Vote of the House of Commons thereupon.

Another Declaration of the Army sent to the House.

The General marches for London.

"than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continu
"the Kingdom in War and Distraction.

THEY who vehemently pressed this Conclusion, and wou
be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popula
took upon them to make all the Invectives both against th
King, and all the time of his Government, that his bittere
Enemies could do, only that they might shew how much th
concessions he had now granted, had provided Remedies fo
all those Evils, and made all the foundation of their futu
hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-power they ha
left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue th
Distractions to morow, he would find no Body ready ev
to joyn with him, having at this time sacrificed all his Frien
to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, ar
when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of the Nigh
till almost five of the Clock in the Morning, on *Monda*
Night, they had first put the Question, "Whether the Qu
"stion should be put? and carried it by a hundred and for
Voices against one hundred and four: the main Questio

Vote "That "the King's "Answer "was a "ground for Peace.

"That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of bot
"Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for th
"settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, was so clear
Voted, that the House was not divided; and that there migh
be no after-claps, they appointed a Committee "To confe
"with the General, for the better procuring a good Intell
"gence and Correspondence between the Army and the Pa
"liament; and then they Adjourn'd the House to *Wednesda*
Morning, it being then near the Morning of *Tuesday*.

THE Committee that was appointed to confer with th
General, waited, that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging
White-Hall, that they might be able to give some Accour
to the House the next Morning. But they were forced to a
tend full three hours, before they could be admitted to hi
presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously
"That the way to correspond with the Army, was to com
"ply with their Remonstrance: and, the next Morning ther
was a Guard of Musqueteers placed at the entry into, and doo
of the House, and the Officers thereof having a List in the
hands of the Names of those who should be restrain'd fro

Many of the Members entring into the House seised upon by the Soldiers.

going into the House, all Those were stopped, one by one, a
they came, and sent into the Court of Wards, where the
were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to th
number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which ther
were so many of the same opinion got into the House, throug
the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant onl
to sequester the most notorious and refractory Persons, tha
the Debate, upon resuming the same Question, continued ver

long

ng; ſeveral Members who obſerv'd the force at the entrance the Houſe, and ſaw their Companions not ſuffer'd to come , complain'd loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privige, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the Houſe would ke no notice of it. In the concluſion, after a very long Dete, the Major part of thoſe who were preſent in the Houſe, oted the Negative to what had been ſettled in the former ebate, and "That the Anſwer the King had given to their Propoſitions was not ſatisfactory.

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

THOSE Gentlemen who for ſome hours had been rain'd in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triph through *Weſtminſter*-Hall (except ſome few, who were ffer'd for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a ong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is comonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their vn charge, what they pleaſed. And here they were kept in e Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after hich hour, in reſpect of the extreme cold Weather, and e Age of many of the Members, they were carried to ſeral Inns; where they were ſuffer'd to lodge as Priſoners, d remain'd under that confinement for two or three days. which time, they publiſh'd a Proteſtation in Print againſt e Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, declaring "The force and violence that had been uſed againſt them: and en the Houſe, with the remaining Members, having deterin'd what they thought fit, moſt of the other were at liberty do what they pleaſed. No body own'd this Act of Vionce in the Excluſion of ſo many Members: There was no rder made for it by the Houſe. *Fairfax* the General knew othing of it, and the Guards themſelves being asked "What Authority they had, gave no other Anſwer "But that they had orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear Order the Houſe, without taking notice of any excluſion, "That none of them who had not been preſent that day when the Negative Vote prevailed, ſhould ſit any more in the Houſe, before they had firſt ſubſcribed the ſame Vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they ſubſcribed, they were as well qualified Members as before. Many of theſe cluded Members, out of Conſcience or Indignation, forbore oming any more to the Houſe for many years; ſome, not bere the Revolution; others, ſooner or later, return'd to their d Seats, that they might not be idle when ſo much buſineſs as to be done.

Vote, "That "thoſe who "were abſent at "the Negative Vote "ſhould ſit "no more in "the Houſe.

THEN the Houſe renew'd their old Votes of no more Addreſſes, and annull'd and made void all thoſe which introduced e Treaty: and that they might find no more ſuch contraction hereafter, they committed to ſeveral Priſons Major General

Vote of no more Addreſſes renewed.

General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) S
John Clotworthy, Sr *William Waller*, Major General *Masse*
and Commissary General *Copley*, who were the most activ
Members in the House of the Presbyterian Party, and wh
had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliamer
in their several Stations against the King as any Men of the
Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer
the present Army had then credit to do: of these, *Mass*
made his escape, and Transported himself into *Holland*; an
there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, pr
sented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and
a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Co*
chester.

The Protestation of the secluded Members.

THE Protestation that the secluded Members had publ
shed and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of th
violence that had been exercised upon them, and their d
claring all Acts to be void which from that time had bee
done in the House of Commons, made a great noise ov
the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remain'd ar
sate in the House, than it did the Officers of the Army; ar
therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise ma
a Declaration against that Protestation; and declar'd it, "T
"be False, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tending to the d
"struction of the visible and Fundamental Government of th
"Kingdom: and to this wonderful Declaration they obtain
the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and joyntly o
dain'd "That that Protestation should be suppressed, ar
"that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read th
"same.

Voted against by both Houses.

Votes of the House of Commons.

WHEN they had in this manner master'd all contradictio
and opposition, they begun more directly to consult wh
they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, a
to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had do
Negatives. They were told, "That it was high time to set
"some form of Government, under which the Nation was
"live: there had been much Treasure and Blood spent to r
"cover the liberty of the People, which would be to no pu
"pose if there were not provision made for their secure e
"joying it; and there would be always the same attemp
"made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destro
"the publick Peace, if there were not such exemplary pena
"ties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what conditio
"soever, from entring upon such desperate Undertaking
They resolv'd to gratify the Army, by taking a view of
Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new G
vernment, which was called, *The Agreement of the People*, a
for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitato

h

had been, by *Cromwell's* directions, the year before, ſhot to death, when he found the Parliament was ſo much offended with it. They declar'd now, as the moſt popular thing they could do to pleaſe the People and the Army, "That they 'would put an end to the Parliament on the laſt day of *April* 'next; and that there ſhould be a Repreſentative of the Na'tion, conſiſting of three hundred Perſons choſen by the Peo'ple; of which, for the Term of ſeven years, no Perſon 'who had adhered to the King, or who ſhould oppoſe this 'Agreement, or not ſubſcribe thereunto, ſhould be capable 'of being choſen to be one, or to have a voice in the Ele'ction; and that, before that time, and before the Diſſolu'tion of the preſent Parliament, it would be neceſſary to 'bring thoſe ſignal Delinquents, who had lately diſturbed the 'Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to ſo great an 'expence of Blood and Treaſure, to exemplary puniſhment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, 'That they ought to begin with Him who had been the cauſe 'of all the miſeries, and miſchiefs, which had befallen the 'Kingdom, and whom they had already deveſted of all Power 'and Authority to govern them for the future; and they had 'had near two years experience, that the Nation might be 'very happily govern'd without any recourſe to him: that 'they had already declar'd, and the Houſe of Peers had con'curr'd with them, that the King had been the cauſe of all 'the Blood which had been ſpilt; and therefore, that it was 'fit that ſuch a Man of Blood ſhould be brought to Juſtice, 'that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his Ty'ranny and Murders: that the People expected This at 'their hands; and that having the principal Malefactor in 'their power, he might not eſcape the puniſhment that was 'due to him.

How new and monſtrous ſoever this language and diſcourſe was to all *Engliſh* Ears, they found a Major part ſtill to con'cur with them: ſo that they appointed a Committee for the preſent "To prepare a charge of High Treaſon againſt the 'King, which ſhould contain the ſeveral Crimes, and Miſde'meanours of his Reign; which being made, they would 'conſider of the beſt way and manner of Proceeding, that he 'might be brought to Juſtice.

A Committee appointed by them to prepare a Charge againſt the King.

This manner of proceeding in *England* was ſo unheard of, hat it was very hard for any Body to propoſe any way to oppoſe it that might carry with it any hope of ſucceſs. However the pain the Prince was in, would not ſuffer him to reſt without making ſome effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from wiſhing that ſucceſs, and honour o the Crown of *England*, as it had deſerv'd from them, and

how much they had always favour'd the Rebellion; that his own preſence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were deviſing all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believ'd the way they were now upon in *England*, would be ſo univerſally odious to all Chriſtians, that no Body of Men would appear to favour it. His Highneſs therefore ſent to the States General to deſire them "To give him "an Audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they ſate; which he did, being met by the whole Body at the Bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they ſate.

The Prince of Wales *deſires the States to intercede with the two Houſes.*

THE Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had ſaid a little to the States of Compliment, he referr'd them to a Paper which Sr *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident there, was to deliver to them. The Paper deſcribed the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies uſed to proceed againſt him in ſuch a manner as muſt be abominated by all Chriſtians, and which would bring the greateſt reproach and obloquy upon the Proteſtant Religion, that ever Chriſtianity had undergone: And therefore deſir'd them, "That they would "interpoſe their Credit, and Authority, in ſuch a manner as "they thought fit, with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, that "inſtead of ſuch an unlawful and wicked proſecution, they "would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal "Father; For the obſervation whereof his Royal Highneſs "would become bound.

Their Anſwer.

THE States aſſured his Highneſs, "That they were very "much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be "glad any interpoſition of Theirs might be able to relieve "him; that they would ſeriouſly conſider in what manner "they might ſerve him. And, that day, they reſolv'd to ſend an extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*, who ſhould repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Inſtructions to what Friends of the King's he ſhould reſort, and conſult with who, being upon the place, might beſt inform him to whom to apply himſelf. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Penſioner of *Holland*, for their Embaſſadour; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many profeſſions of his deſire that his Journey might produce ſome good Effect.

THE Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favour'd the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obſtructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was poſſible for him to do; and therefore they were very ſorry that He was made choice of for Embaſſadour in ſuch a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* aſſured

assured the Prince, "That he had used all his credit to com-"pass that Election; that he was the Wisest Man of their "Body, and that neither He, nor any of the rest, who had "cherished the *English* Rebellion more than he, ever desired "it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger "the changing the Government; and therefore wished "There might not appear any distrust of him, but that the "Prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the "Council would confer with him with freedom, upon any par-"ticulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed "in. But the wisdom of Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any Menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark themselves in the Quarrel. So that the Council could only wish, "That the "Embassadour would confer with such of the King's Friends "who were then at *London*, and whose relation had been "most eminent towards his Majesty; and receive advice from "them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particu-"lar Men, and thereby with the Parliament. And so the Em-bassadour departed for *England*, within less than a week after he was nominated for the Employment. *They send an Embassadour into England.*

At the same time, the Queen of *England*, being struck to the Heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper contain'd a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her Husband was in, desiring "That they would grant her a Pass to come over to him, of-"fering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might "give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give "her leave to perform any of those Offices towards the Pub-"lick, that she might be permitted to perform the Duty she "owed Him, and to be near him in the uttermost Extremity. Neither of these Addresses did more than express the Zeal of those who procured them to be made: the Embassadour *Pawe* could neither get leave to see the King (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parliament, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Paper was deliver'd, and never consider'd in order to return any Answer to it. *The Queen sent a Paper to be deliver'd to the Parliament, but it was laid aside.*

When the Committee had prepared such a Charge, which they called "An Impeachment of High Treason against *Charles* "*Stewart* King of *England*, digested into several Articles, "which contain'd all those Calumnies they had formerly *The Charge against the King approv'd by the Commons:*

heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addreſſes to be made to him, with ſome Additional Reproaches, it was read in the Houſe; and, after it was approv'd there, they ſent it to the Houſe of Peers for Their concurrence. That Houſe had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* return'd from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and us'd to Adjourn for two or three days together for want of buſineſs; ſo that it was believ'd, that they who had done ſo many extravagant things, rather than they would diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, would likewiſe concur with them in This, rather than ſever from them when they were ſo triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was ſo ill receiv'd, that there was not one Perſon who concurr'd with them; which, conſidering the Men and what moſt of them had done, might ſeem very ſtrange. And when they had, with ſome warmth rejected it, they Adjourn'd for a week; preſuming they ſhould thereby at leaſt give ſome interruption to that Career which the Houſe of Commons was upon, and, in that time, ſome expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houſes. But they were as much deceiv'd in this; the Houſe of Commons was very well pleaſed with it, and thought they had given them eaſe, which they could not ſo well have contriv'd for themſelves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourn'd their Houſe, they found their doors all locked, and faſten'd with Padlocks, that there ſhould then be no more Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after ſit in that Houſe as Peers above twice or thrice at moſt, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavour'd in vain to have erected a Houſe of Peers of his own Creation; in which ſome of them then very willingly took their places.

Rejected by the Lords; who adjourn'd for a week.

The Door of their Houſe locked up againſt the day to which they had adjourn'd.

THE Charge and Accuſation, upon which they reſolv'd to proceed againſt the King, being thus ſettled and agreed upon, they begun to conſider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be ſome appearance of Juſtice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law which could direct or warrant them; nor could the Precedent of depoſing *Richard* the ſecond (the ſole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpoſe: for, how foul ſoever the circumſtances precedent had been, he had made a Reſignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; ſo that his Depoſition proceeded from Himſelf, and with his own Conſent, and would not agree in any particular with the caſe in queſtion. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect never before heard of. They conſtituted and erected a Court that ſhould be called "*The High Court of Juſtice*," to conſiſt of "ſe

The Commons conſtitute a High Court of Juſtice.

"so many Judges, who should have Authority to try the King, "whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no; "and, in order thereunto, to examine such Witnesses as "should be produced: The number of the Judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

THEY could not have found such a Number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own Members to be Judges in this case, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintain'd a War, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King, and so not so fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: On the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolv'd that the Judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of Members of the House, as of such other of their Good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of Conscience, or of Fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another Man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the Province themselves.

ALL the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and such Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been most violent against Peace, and some few Country Gentlemen, whose Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cause, and who were like to take such a Preferment as a testimony of the Parliament's Confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who should be called *Lord President* of that High Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witnesses all proper Questions, and answer what the Prisoner should propose. And to that Office one *Bradshaw* was chosen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Westminster* Hall, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employed by the Factious. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without Parts, and of great Insolence and Ambition. When he was

Bradshaw made Lord President.

first nominated, he seem'd much surpriſed, and very reſolute to refuſe it; which he did in ſuch a manner, and ſo much enlarging upon his own want of Abilities to undergo ſo important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was preſs'd with more importunity than could have been uſed by chance, he required "Time to conſider of it; and ſaid, "He would then "give his final Anſwer; which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he adminiſter'd with all the Pride, Impudence, and Superciliouſneſs imaginable. He was preſently inveſted in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard aſſign'd for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and the Dean's Houſe at *Weſtminſter* given to him for ever for his reſidence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thouſand pounds, was appointed to be preſently paid to him, to put himſelf in ſuch an Equipage and way of Living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, ſeem'd to be the greateſt Magiſtrate in *England*. And though it was not thought ſeaſonable to make any ſuch Declaration, yet ſome of thoſe whoſe opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon ſeveral occaſions, declared, "That they believ'd that Office was not to be look'd upon as "neceſſary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that "he who executed it, deſerv'd to have an ample and a liberal "Eſtate conferr'd upon him for ever: which ſuddain mutation and exaltation of Fortune, could not but make a great impreſſion upon a vulgar Spirit, accuſtom'd to no Exceſſes, and acquainted only with a very moderate Fortune. All this being done, they made choice of ſome Lawyers (till that time very obſcure, and Men ſcarce known or heard of in their Profeſſion) to perform the Offices of Atturney General, and Solliciter General for the State, to proſecute the Priſoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence againſt him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the ſeveral Offices of their new Court; which was order'd to be erected in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

Lawyers and other Officers appointed.

The King ſent for from Hurſt *Caſtle by* Harriſon, *The Character of* Harriſon.

THE King was now ſent for from *Hurſt* Caſtle, and was receiv'd by Colonel *Harriſon* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe; by whom he was to be conducted to *Windſor* Caſtle. *Harriſon* was the Son of a Butcher near *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in thoſe parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Buſineſs, and, if it be not reſiſted by the great ingenuity of the Perſon, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of breeding, and diſpoſes them to be Pragmatical and Inſolent, though they

they have the skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master (who had relation to the King's Service, and discharged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliament Army, where, having first obtain'd the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerkship contributed very much: And then he was preferr'd very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and look'd upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He receiv'd the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that he King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King expressed a desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigney*, liv'd there; and said, "He would "send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine "with her, that she might provide a dinner for him. *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

BOTH Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigney* had been kill'd at *Edge-hill*, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discover'd by Mr *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Challoner* had been put to death, and had likewise her self been

put to death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, Married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the same Affections. They had from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hurst* Castle, and advised him "To find some "way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that "he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the Horse he "rode upon, or to find fault with his going, that he might "take another Horse out of the Lord *Newburgh's* Stables to "continue the rest of his Journey upon. That Lord much delighted in Horses, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the fleetest that was in *England*; and the purpose was, to mount the King upon that Horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the suddain, set Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his Horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that Forrest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good Horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the King had so earnestly insisted upon dining at *Bagshot*; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

The King dines at the Lord Newburgh's where was an intention of making the King's Escape, but in vain.

Before the King came thither, *Harrison* had sent some Horse with an Officer to search the House, and all about the Park, that he might be sure that no Company lurked which might make some attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horse; and said, "He would "change it, and procure a better. When his Majesty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly inform'd, "That the Horse so much depended upon, was, the "day before, by the blow of another Horse, so lam'd, that "he could not be of use to the purpose he was design'd for. And though that Lord had other good Horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observ'd so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a Hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horsed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spann'd in one hand, that he resolv'd not to pursue that design. And *Harrison*

ison had already told him, "That he had provided a better 'Horse for him: and it was believ'd he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord *Newbough's*. So that after having spent three or four hours there, with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffer'd to be in any Room without the Company of six or seven Soldiers, who suffer'd little to be spoken, except it was so loud that They could hear it too, he took a sad farewel of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord *Newbourgh* rode some Miles in the Forrest to wait upon the King, till he was requir'd by *Harrison* to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his Castle of *Windsor*, and was sooner after carried to St *James's*. In this Journey, *Harrison* observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to Murther him, and had once let fall some words of "The odiousness and wickedness of such an Assassination and Murther, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it; he told him plainly, "That he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; 'that the Parliament had too much Honour and Justice to 'cherish so foul an intention; and assured Him, "That whatever the Parliament resolv'd to do, would be very Publick 'and in a way of Justice; to which the World should be 'Witness; and would never endure a thought of secret Violence: which his Majesty could not perswade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the People, under any form whatsoever of a publick Trial.

The King brought to St James's.

It hath been acknowledg'd since by some Officers, and others who were present at the Consultations, that from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, and after the Army had master'd both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret Consults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, 'They should never be able to settle their new form of Government, whilst He liv'd: and after he was become a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, they were more sollicitous for a Resolution and Determination in that particular: and after the Vote of the no more Addresses, the most violent Party thought 'They could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He 'should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that 'was to be compassed in the first place. Some were for "An 'actual Deposing him; which could not but be easily brought 'to pass, since the Parliament would Vote any thing they 'should be directed: Others were for the taking away his 'Life by Poyson; which would make least noise; or, "If that "could

The several Consultations, before and after this time, among the Officers, what to do with the King.

"could not be so easily contriv'd, by Assassination; for whic
"there were hands enough ready to be employ'd. There wa
a Third sort, as violent as either of the other, who presse
"To have him brought to a publick Trial as a Malefactor
which, they said, "Would be most for the Honour of th
"Parliament, and would teach all Kings to Know, that the
"were accountable, and punishable for the wickedness of thei
"Lives.

MANY of the Officers were of the first opinion, "As
"thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once De
"pos'd, they could better settle the Government, than if h
"were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilst H
"was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he woul
"presently call himself King, and others would call him
"too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would ow
"him for such. If he were kept alive in a close Prison, h
"might afterwards be made use of, or remov'd upon any ap
"pearance of a Revolution.

THERE was as many Officers of the second Judgemen
"That he should be presently dispatch'd. They said, "It ap
"pear'd by the experience they had, that whilst He was aliv
"(for a more strict Imprisonment than he had undergone, h
"could never be confined to) there would be always Plo
"and Designs to set him at Liberty; and he would have Partie
"throughout the Kingdom; and, in a short time, a Factio
"in their most secret Councils, and it may be in the Army
"self; and, where his Liberty would yield so great a Price,
"would be too great a Trust to repose in any Man, that h
"would long resist the Temptation. Whereas, if he wer
"confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especiall
"if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity to
"wards all his Party, as in prudence they ought to do. Th
Party might probably have carried it, if *Hammond* could hav
been wrought upon to have concurr'd; but he had yet to
much Conscience to expose himself to that Infamy; and with
out His privity or connivance it could not be done.

THE third Party, which were all the Levellers and Ag
tators of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton* and *Harriso*
were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said
"They could as easily bring him to Justice in the sight of th
"Sun, as Depose him; since the Authority of the Parliamen
"could do one as well as the other: That their Precedent
"Deposing, had no reputation with the People; but wa
"look'd upon as the effect of some potent Faction, whic
"always oppressed the People more after, than they had bee
"before. Besides, those Deposings had always been attende
"with Assassinations and Murthers, which were the mor
"odiou

'odious, and deteſted, becauſe no body own'd and avow'd 'the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were brought 'to a publick Trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, 'and for his Miſgovernment, upon the complaint and proſe-'cution of the People, the Superiority of the People would 'be hereby vindicated and made manifeſt; and they ſhould 'receive the benefit, and be for ever free from thoſe oppreſ-'ſions which he had impos'd upon them, and for which he 'ought to pay ſo dear; and ſuch an exemplary Proceeding 'and Execution as this where every circumſtance ſhould be 'clear and notorious, would be the beſt foundation and ſe-'curity of the Government they intended to eſtabliſh; and 'no Man would be Ambitious to ſucceed Him, and be a King 'in his place, when he ſaw in what manner he muſt be ac-'countable to the People. This Argumentation, or the ſtrength and obſtinacy of that Party, carried it: and here-upon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exerciſed, was reſolv'd upon and conſented to.

Concluded to have him publickly tryed.

WHETHER the incredibility, or monſtrouſneſs of ſuch a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds of Men, or whe-ther the principal Actors took pains, by their Inſinuations, to have it ſo believ'd, it fell out however that they among them who wiſh'd the King beſt, and ſtood neareſt to the Stage where theſe parts were Acted, did not believe that there were thoſe Horrid Intentions that ſhortly after appear'd. The Preachers, who had founded the Trumpets loudeſt to, and throughout the War, Preached now as furiouſly againſt all wicked Attempts and Violence againſt the Perſon of the King, and fooliſhly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involv'd him in all the danger he was in) for the ſe-curity of his Perſon.

ASSOON as the Prince heard of the King's being carried by *Harriſon* to *Windſor*, and from thence to St *James's* though he had lately ſent a Servant on purpoſe to ſee his Majeſty, and to bring him an Account of the State he was in, which Servant was not permitted to ſee him, he ſent now another with a Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told them, "That 'he had no other means to be inform'd of the health and 'condition of the King his Royal Father, but by the Com-'mon Prints, and general Intelligences that arriv'd in thoſe 'Parts: He had reaſon by thoſe to believe, that after the ex-'piration of the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* (where he hoped 'the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his Majeſty 'had been carried to *Hurſt* Caſtle; and ſince, by ſome Officers 'of the Army, to *Windſor*, not without purpoſe of a more 'violent proſecution; the rumour whereof, though of ſo

The Prince ſends a Letter to Fairfax and the Council of War:

"mon-

"monſtrous and incredible a Nature, had called upon hi
"Piety to make this Addreſs to them; who had at this tim
"the power to chooſe, whether they would raiſe laſting Mo
"numents to themſelves of Loyalty and Piety, by reſtorin
"their Soveraign to his juſt Rights, and their Country t
"Peace and Happineſs, a Glory which had been ſeldom at
"ſolutely vouchſafed to ſo ſmall a number of Men, or to mak
"themſelves the Authors of endleſs Miſery to the Kingdom
"by contributing or conſenting to an Act which all Chriſt
"ans, into how different opinions ſoever divided, muſt at
"hor, as the moſt inconſiſtent with the Elements of any Re
"ligion, and deſtructive to the Security and being of an
"kind of Government: He did therefore earneſtly deſire an
"conjure them, ſadly to conſider the vaſt and prodigious di
"proportion in that Election; and then, he ſaid, "He coul
"not doubt but that they would chooſe to do that which
"moſt Juſt, Safe, and Honourable for them to do; make then
"ſelves the bleſt Inſtruments to Preſerve, Defend, and Reſto
"their King; to whom only their Allegiance was due; t
"which every one of them might juſtly promiſe themſelv
"peace of Conſcience, the ſingular good Will and Favour
"his Majeſty, the ample thanks and acknowledgement of a
"good Men, and the particular and unalterable Affection
"the Prince himſelf. This Letter was, with much ado, d
liver'd into the hands of *Fairfax* himſelf; but the Meſſeng
could never be admitted to ſpeak with him; nor was the
more known, than that it was read in the Council of Wa
and laid aſide.

Which was read in the Council of War, and laid aſide.

FROM the time of the King's being come to St *James'* when he was deliver'd into the hands and cuſtody of Colon *Tomlinſon*, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer ſeem'd t be a Man of a better breeding, and of a Nature more Civ than *Harriſon*, and pretended to pay much Reſpect and Du to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majeſty, aft a ſhort time, was treated with more Rudeneſs and Barbari than he had ever been before. They were ſo jealous of the own Guards, leſt they ſhould be wrought upon by the in fluence of this Innocent Prince, or by the remorſe of their ow Conſcience upon the exerciſe of ſo much Barbarity, th they cauſed the Guards to be ſtill changed; and the ſam Men were never ſuffer'd twice to perform the ſame monſtro Duty.

The uſage of the King at St James's.

WHEN He was firſt brought to *Weſtminſter* Hall, whic was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their *High Cou of Juſtice*, he look'd upon them, and ſat down, without an manifeſtation of trouble, never ſtirring his Hat; all the in pudent Judges ſitting cover'd and fixing their Eyes upon hin

He is brought to Weſtminſter *Hall*, Jan. 20.

withou

vithout the leaſt ſhew of reſpect. The odious Libel, which hey called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contain'd, "That he had been admit- *The Sum of the Charge.*
'ted King of *England*, and truſted with a limited Power to 'Govern according to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, 'was obliged to uſe the Power committed to him for the good 'and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of a wicked 'deſign to erect to himſelf an Illuminated and Tyrannical 'Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the 'People, Trayterouſly levied War againſt the preſent Parlia-'ment, and the People therein repreſented. And then it nention'd his firſt appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his eing at *Beverly*, then his ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle ad been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other ſeveral Battles which ad been fought in his Preſence; in which, it ſaid, "He 'had cauſed and procured many thouſands of the Free-born 'People of the Nation to be ſlain: and after all his Forces 'had been defeated, and Himſelf become a Priſoner, he had, 'in that very year, cauſed many Inſurrections to be made in '*England*, and given a Commiſſion to the Prince his Son to 'raiſe a new War againſt the Parliament; whereby many 'who were in their Service, and truſted by them, had re-'volted, broken their Truſt, and betook themſelves to the 'Service of the Prince againſt the Parliament and the Peo-'ple: that he had been the Author and Contriver of the un-'natural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of 'all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, 'Deſolations, Damage, and Miſchief to the Nation, which 'had been committed in the ſaid War, or been occaſion'd 'thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the ſaid 'Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *Eng-'land*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer, and a publick 'implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*. And 'it was prayed, "That he might be put to Anſwer to all the 'particulars, to the end that ſuch an Examination, Trial, and 'Judgment, might be had thereupon, as ſhould be agreeable 'to Juſtice.

WHICH being read, their Preſident *Bradſhaw*, after he had *What paſſed the firſt day of his Trial.*
inſolently reprehended the King "For not having ſhew'd more 'reſpect to that High Tribunal, told him, "That the Parlia-'ment of *England* had appointed that Court to try him for the 'ſeveral Treaſons, and Miſdemeanours, which he had com-'mitted againſt the Kingdom during the evil Adminiſtration 'of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, 'Juſtice might be done. And, after a great ſawcineſs and impu-lence of talk, he asked the King, "What Anſwer he had to 'make to that Impeachment.

THE

THE King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "He would first know "of them, by what Authority they presumed by force to "bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge "of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but "God; though they had been always such as he need not be "ashamed to own them before all the World. He told them "that He was their King. They his Subjects; who owed "him Duty and Obedience: that no Parliament had Autho"rity to call him before them; but that They were not th"Parliament, nor had any Authority from the Parliament t"fit in that manner: That of all the Persons who sate there "and took upon them to judge him, except those Person"who being Officers of the Army he could not but know "whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were onl"two Faces which he had ever seen before, or whose name "were known to him. And, after urging "Their Duty, tha"was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by such live"ly Reasons, and Arguments, as were not capable of an Answer, he concluded, "That he would not so much betra"himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer any thing the "objected against him, which were to acknowledge the "Authority; though he believ'd that every one of Them "selves, as well as the Spectators, did, in their own Consc"ences, absolve him from all the Material things which wer"objected against him.

BRADSHAW advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "No"to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he ha"said would do him any good: that the Parliament knew "their own Authority, and would not suffer it to be called i"question or debated: therefore required him, "To think be"ter of it, against he should be next brought thither, and tha"he would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise, h"could not be so ignorant, as not to know what Judgmen"the Law pronounced against those who stood Mute, and ob"stinately refused to plead. So the Guard carried his Majest back to St *James's*; where they treated him as before.

Disturbance in the Court by the Lady Fairfax *the General's wife.*

THERE was an accident happen'd that first day, which may be fit to be remember'd. When all those who were Commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was to read their Commission; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial and then the Judges were all called, every Man answering to his name as he was called, and the President being first called and making Answer, the next who was called being the Ge neral, Lord *Fairfax* and no Answer being made, the Office called him the second time, when there was a voice hear tha

hat ſaid, "He had more Wit than to be there; which put the Court into ſome diſorder, and ſome body asking, who it was, here was no other Anſwer but a little murmuring. But, reſently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expreſſion ſed, of "All the good People of *England*, the ſame voice n a louder tone, Anſwer'd, "No, nor the hundreth part of them: upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers ive fire into that Box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were tter'd. But it was quickly diſcern'd that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had utter'd both thoſe ſharp ayings; who was preſently perſwaded or forced to leave the lace, to prevent any new diſorder. She was of a very noble xtraction, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Horace* Lord *ere* of *Tilbury*; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not hat reverence for the Church of *England*, as ſhe ought to ave had, and ſo had unhappily concurr'd in her Husband's ntring into Rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would ring upon the Kingdom; and now abhorr'd the work in hand s much as any Body could do, and did all ſhe could to hin- er her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever t in that bloody Court, though he was throughout overwit- ed by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to paſs hich could very hardly have been otherwiſe effected.

As there was in many Perſons preſent at that woful Spe- tacle a real Duty and Compaſſion for the King, ſo there was n others ſo barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, hat they called him Tyrant, and Murderer; and one ſpit in is Face; which his Majeſty, without expreſſing any trouble, viped off with his Handkerchief.

THE two Men who were only known to the King before he Troubles, were Sr *Harry Mildmay*, Maſter of the King's ewel Houſe, who had been bred up in the Court, being ounger Brother of a good Family in *Eſſex*, and who had been roſecuted with ſo great Favours and Bounties by King *James*, nd by his Majeſty, that he was raiſed by them to a great iſtate, and preferr'd to that Office in his Houſe, which is the eſt under thoſe which entitle the Officers to be of the privy Council. No man more obſequious to the Court than He, vhilſt it flouriſh'd; a great flatterer of all Perſons in Autho- ity, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning f the Parliament, he concurr'd with thoſe who were moſt iolent againſt the Court, and moſt like to prevail againſt it; nd being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand ommonly makes Men moſt impudent, he continued his de- perate pace with them, till he became one of the Murderers f his Maſter. The other was Sr *John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman

Sr H. Mild- *may and Sr* John Dan- vers *the on- ly two Per- ſons the King knew beſides the Officers of the Army.*

of

of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way o living, contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being ſeduced and a Seducer, became ſo far involv'd in their Coun ſels that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be applied to their worſt Of fices, taking it to be a high honour to ſit upon the ſame Benc with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once nor did that Party of Miſcreants, look upon any two Men i the Kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation as they did upo *Danvers* and *Mildmay*.

A Summary paſſing over the reſt of the King's Trial.

THE ſeveral unheard of inſolencies which this excellen Prince was forced to ſubmit to, at the other times he wa brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majeſtick beha viour, and reſolute inſiſting upon his own dignity, and defenc ing it by manifeſt Authorities in the Law, as well as by th cleareſt deductions from Reaſon, the pronouncing that horri ble ſentence upon the moſt innocent Perſon in the world, th Execution of that Sentence by the moſt execrable Murde that was ever committed ſince that of our Bleſſed Saviour and the circumſtances thereof; the Application and Interpoſ tion that was uſed by ſome noble Perſons to prevent that wo ful Murder, and the hypocriſy with which that interpoſitio was eluded, the Saint-like behaviour of the Bleſſed Marty and his Chriſtian courage and patience at his death, are all pa ticulars ſo well known, and have been ſo much enlarged upo in a Treatiſe peculiarly writ to that purpoſe, that the farth mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve th Reader, and make the Relation it ſelf odious as well as neec leſs; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here of that deplor ble Tragedy, ſo much to the diſhonour of the Nation, an the Religion profeſſed by it, though undeſervedly.

His Character.

BUT it will not be unneceſſary to add a ſhort Character his Perſon, that Poſterity may know the ineſtimable lo which the Nation then underwent, in being depriv'd of Prince whoſe example would have had a greater influence upo the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the moſt ſtri Laws can have. To ſpeak firſt of his private Qualificatio as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Vi tues; He was if ever any, the moſt worthy of the title of a Honeſt Man; ſo great a lover of Juſtice, that no temptatio could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was diſguiſed to him that he believ'd it to be juſt. He had a tei derneſs and compaſſion of Nature, which reſtrain'd him fro ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was ſo a to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Lat repreſented to him the damage and inſecurity to the Public

His Juſtice and Mercy.

th

that flowed from such his Indulgence. And then he restrain'd himself from pardoning either Murders, or High way Robberies, and quickly discern'd the fruits of his severity by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never so early in the Morning, before he had been at Publick Prayers; so that on Hunting days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what Sharpness of Wit soever it was cover'd: and though he was well pleased, and delighted with reading Verses made upon any occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then. He was so great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their Liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops to prosecute those scandalous Vices, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against Persons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

His Devotion and Religion.

His Conjugal Chastity.

His Kingly Virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindred them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, after which those showres fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw, and observ'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Person; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Causes; which he frequently accustom'd himself to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dextrous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to Causes by perswasion, which the stubbornness of Men's humours made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

He was not very bountiful.

He kept State in his Court.

Patient in hearing Causes.

He was very fearless in his Person; but, in his riper years, not very Enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of Men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more respect and Duty. And

Fearless, not Enterprising.

Not Confident in his own judgment.

his not applying ſome ſevere cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderneſs of his Conſcience, which, in all caſes of Blood, made him chooſe the ſofter way, and not hearken to ſevere Counſels, how reaſonably ſoever urged. This only reſtrain'd him from purſuing his advantage in the firſt *Scotiſh* Expedition, when, humanly ſpeaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the moſt entire obedience that could have been wiſhed. But no Man can ſay he had then many who adviſed him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indiſpoſition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scotiſh* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and beſieged by them always, having few *Engliſh* about him till he was King; and the major number of his Servants being ſtill of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among theſe, no Man had ſuch an Aſcendent over him, by the humbleſt inſinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

Lover of the Scotiſh Nation.

Abhorr'd Debauchery.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, ſo in Temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhorr'd all Debauchery to that degree that, at a great Feſtival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the Nobility of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were entertain'd, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vaſt draughts of Wine they drank, and "That there was one "Earl, who had drank moſt of the reſt down, and was not him- "ſelf mov'd or alter'd, the King ſaid, "That he deſerv'd to be "hanged; and that Earl coming ſhortly after into the Room where his Majeſty was, in ſome gayety, to ſhew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King ſent one to bid him withdraw from his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did he in ſome days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumſtances contributed to his Ruine, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpired it. Though he was, from the firſt Declenſion of his Power, ſo much betrayed by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any Treaſonable purpoſe to do Him any harm, but from particular, and perſonal Animoſities againſt other Men. And afterwards, the terror all Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conſcious of themſelves, made them watch all opportunities to make themſelves gracious to thoſe who could do them good; and ſo they became ſpies upon their Maſter, and from one piece of Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another; till at laſt they had no hope of preſervation but by the Deſtruction of their Maſter. And after all this, when a Man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal Defection

fection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murder'd in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd, esteem'd, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he liv'd produced. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

Belov'd by his Subjects in general when he was Murder'd.

The Sum of his Character.

THIS unparallell'd Murder and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account used in *England*, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his Age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great Vigour of Body, that when his Murderers caused him to be open'd (which they did; and were some of them present at it with great curiosity) they confessed, and declared, "That no Man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt; and that he seem'd to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have liv'd as long as nature could subsist. His Body was immediately carried into a Room at *White-Hall*; where he was expos'd for many days to the publick view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then imbalm'd, and put into a Coffin, and so carried to St *James's*; where he likewise remain'd several days. They who were qualified to order his Funeral, declared, "That he should be buried at *Windsor* in a decent manner, provided that the whole Expence should not exceed five hundred pounds. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who govern'd, "That they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead Master, and to wait upon him to his Grave; which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "That they should not attend the Corps out of the Town; since they resolv'd it should be privately carried to *Windsor* without Pomp or Noise, and then they should have timely notice, that if they pleased, they might be at his Interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of those Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Imprisonment, that they should convey the Body to *Windsor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had

uſually been his Bed-Chamber: the next Morning, it was carried into the great Hall; where it remain'd till the Lords came; who arriv'd there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Witchcot*, the Governour of the Caſtle, and ſhew'd the Order they had from the Parliament to be preſent at the Burial; which he admitted; but when they deſired that his Majeſty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, the Biſhop of *London* being preſent with them to officiate, he poſitively and roughly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſaid, "It was not Lawful; that the Com-"mon-Prayer Book was put down, and he would not ſuffer "it to be uſed in that Garriſon where He Commanded; nor could all the Reaſons, Perſwaſions, and Entreaties, prevail with him to ſuffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they enter'd into it, which they had been ſo well acquainted with, they found it ſo alter'd and transform'd, all Inſcriptions, and thoſe Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and ſuch a diſmal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had uſed to be interr'd. At laſt there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he ſaid, "There was a Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth "and Queen *Jane Seymour* were interr'd. As near that place as could conveniently be, they cauſed the Grave to be made. There the King's Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and ſighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of Silver fixt with theſe words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had cover'd it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; which the Governour ſtayed to ſee perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I HAVE been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occaſion to mention what fell out long after, and which adminiſter'd a Subject of much diſcourſe; in which, according to the ſeveral humours and fancies of Men, they who were in neareſt Credit and Truſt about the King, underwent many very ſevere Cenſures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himſelf. Upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second with ſo much Congratulation, and univerſal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body ſhould be remov'd from that obſcure Burial, and, with ſuch Ceremony as ſhould be thought fit, ſhould be ſolemnly depoſited with his Royal Anceſtors in King *Harry* the Seventh's Chappel in the Collegiate Church of *Weſtmin-*

Weſtminſter. And the King himſelf intended nothing more, and ſpoke often of it, as if it were only deferr'd till ſome Circumſtances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjuſted. But, by degrees, the diſcourſe of it was diminiſhed, as if it were totally laid aſide upon ſome reaſons of State, the ground whereof ſeveral Men gueſſed at according to their fancies, and thereupon caſt thoſe Reproaches upon the States-men as they thought reaſonable, when the reaſons which were ſuggeſted by their own imaginations, did not ſatisfy their underſtanding. For the ſatisfaction and information of all Men, I chooſe in this place to explain that matter; which it may be is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reaſons, thought fit to be publiſh'd. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King return'd; the Marquis of *Hertford* died in a ſhort time after, and was ſeldom out of his Lodging after his Majeſty came to *White-Hall*; the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindſey* went to *Windſor*, and took with them ſuch of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remember'd had been then preſent, and were ſtill alive; who all amounted to a ſmall Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, a great ſtrictneſs uſed in admitting any to be preſent whoſe Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confuſion they had at that time obſerv'd to be in that Church, and the ſmall alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, ſo totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interr'd: Yet, where any concurr'd upon this, or that place, they cauſed the ground to be open'd at a good diſtance, and upon ſuch Enquiries, found no Cauſe to believe that they were near the place: And, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aſide; and the reaſon communicated to very few, for the better diſcountenancing farther Enquiry.

THOUGH this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree ſatisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no ſooner freed themſelves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And beſides the old Royal Party, which continued ſtill vigorous, notwithſtanding their loſs of ſo much Blood, and (which weakens almoſt as much) of ſo great Eſtates, they did apprehend that there were in the vaſt number of the guilty (who quietly look'd on upon the removal of the old, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended) who would yet be very willing to ſubmit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than

his Father had done. And therefore they made haſte to prevent this threatning evil, by publiſhing a Proclamation, "That "no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to declare *Charles* "*Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince "of *Wales*, or any other Perſon to be King, or Chief Ma- "giſtrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions be- "longing thereunto, by colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, "Election, or any other Claim whatſoever; and that who- "ever, contrary to this Act, preſume to proclaim, *&c.* "ſhould be deem'd and adjudged a Traytor, and ſuffer ac- "cordingly.

Proclamation againſt proclaiming Charles Stuart *King.*

In the next place, that their Infant Republick might be Nurſed, Cheriſhed, and brought up by thoſe only who had gotten and brought it forth, they reſolv'd to take away and aboliſh the Houſe of Peers, and Voted, "That they would "make no farther Addreſſes to the Houſe of Lords, nor re- "ceive any more from them: That the Houſe of Peers, in Par- "liament, was uſeleſs and dangerous; and that an Act ſhould "be brought in for aboliſhing it: That the Privilege of the "Peers of being freed from Arreſts, ſhould be declared null "and void; all which was done within few days. However, they declar'd, "That the Peers ſhould have the Privilege to "be elected Knights, or Burgeſſes; of which gracious Con- ceſſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſate, upon their Election into vacant places, in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons aboliſh the Houſe of Peers.

There remain'd yet another proviſion to be made againſt their own Ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongſt them many who were not equally fond of a Common wealth; and therefore they declared, "That it had "been found by experience, that the Office of a King in this "Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, "was unneceſſary, burthenſom, and dangerous to the Liberty, "and Safety, and Publick Intereſt of the Nation; and there- "fore that it ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd and to that purpoſe "an Act ſhould be forthwith prepared: which was likewiſe done, and paſſed. And by this Triple Cord they believ'd their Republick would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſufficiently provided for.

Vote againſt the Office of Kingſhip.

Their new great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was Engraven, on one ſide, the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *the Great Seal of England*; and on the other ſide the Protraiture of the Houſe of Commons Sitting, circumſcribed, *In the firſt Year of freedom by God's bleſſing reſtor'd*, 1648. The Cuſtody of this Great Seal was committed to three Lawyers, whereof one had ſate among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to their

They make a new Great Seal.

their Service. All things being now in this good Order, they sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, "That they were fully resolv'd to maintain, and uphold the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, in order to the preservation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the People, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the Government for the good of the People: and the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done, but the Name, Style, and Test, to be *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, authoritate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believ'd, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the War to the Authority that govern'd, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept Commissions from the new Establish'd Power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the Conscience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

Six of their own Judges give up.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the King's and Princes of *Christendom* had their Eyes fix'd upon this sad and bloody Spectacle; how they look'd upon that issue of Blood, at which their own seem'd to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their Hearts labour'd to see the Impious Hands of the lowest and basest Subjects bathing in the Bowels, and reeking Blood of their Soveraign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, dismember'd as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union was enter'd into, to take vengeance upon those Monsters, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet, *Isaiah, Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scatter'd, and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a Nation meted out, and troden down, whose Lands the Rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the Spoils of a Murder'd Monarch.

How some Neighbouring Princes took the King's Murther.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the *French* King, managed that Scepter, had long adored the Conduct of *Cromwell*, and sought his Friendship, by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the Purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchased the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furnish'd his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from

the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* who had been his Embassadour to the King, residing still at *London*, and He had, upon several occasions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and several Treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Embassadour, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent in Ships to the *Corunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid* upon eighteen Mules. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* purchased the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and some Pictures of a great Price, and receiv'd the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governour of *Flanders*, disburs'd a great Sum of Money for many of the best Pictures, which adorn'd the several Palaces of the King's; which were all brought to him to *Brussels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour Princes joyn to assist *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute, and finish his wicked Victory over what yet remain'd unconquer'd, and to extinguish Monarchy in this renown'd Kingdom; whilst they enrich'd and adorn'd themselves with the Ruins and Spoils of the surviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greatest necessities which ever King was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this (since most Men, by recovering their Fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robb'd of, many who joyn'd in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true Owner) not one of all these Princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King, after his blessed Restoration.

WHILST these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious Blood of their Soveraign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as necessary to the Establishment of their new Tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "That from this time "*England* should be govern'd as a Common-wealth by the "Parliament; that is, by that handful of Men, who by their Wisdom and Power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appear'd very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an Order and Declaration, "That as many of the Mem-"bers who had been excluded, as would under their hands "approve all that had been done during the time they were "excluded, should return to their Seats in the House without "any prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty

guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been ſpilt; and ſo their number increaſed. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been ſaid, and called the Commiſſioners, who were entruſted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England.* And the Court of King's Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Perſons to conſider of ſuch alterations as were neceſſary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard of ſo important a mutation. That they might have ſome obligation of Obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and eſtabliſhed, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man ſhould ſwear, "That he would be true and "faithful to the Government eſtabliſhed without King or "Houſe of Peers: and whoſoever refuſed to take that Engagement ſhould be incapable of holding any Place, or Office in Church or State. The neceſſity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durſt not ſacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And ſo they filled many conſiderable Places both in the one, and the other, with Men throughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finiſh all this, and whilſt it was preparing, they had, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Perſons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that they ſhould hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High Court of Juſtice was appointed to ſit for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and another Gentleman, one Sr *John Owen* (who having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late inſurrection in *Wales*, killed the High Sheriff) that they might ſee there ſhould hereafter be no more diſtinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greateſt Lord and the Commoners ſhould undergo the ſame Judicatory, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreaſonable, that all the Creations of the Crown ſhould be determin'd by that Jurisdiction to which the Crown it ſelf had been ſubjected.

An Oath impoſed called the Engagement

A new High Court of Juſtice ſits; and ſeveral Trials before them.

DUKE *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Priſoner of War, and ſo not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Eſcape; in which he had ſo well ſucceeded, that he was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater diſtance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horſe in *South-*

Duke Hamilton firſt Tried.

Southwark; and carried Prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that high Court of Justice. He insisted upon "The Right and Priviledge of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*; that it had not the least Dependence "upon the Kingdom of *England*, but was entirely Govern'd "by its own Laws: that He, being a Subject of that King "dom, was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and the "Parliament of that Kingdom, having thought it necessary to "raise an Army for the relief of their King, and constitute "Him General of that Army, it was not lawful for him to "refuse the Command thereof; and whatever misfortune he "had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be "liable to any punishment, but what a Prisoner of War was "bound to undergo. He was told, "That the Rights and "Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not called in Que "stion, nor could be violated by Their proceedings against "Him, who was a Subject of *England*; against which he was "charged with Rebellion and Treason: that they did not "proceed against him as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as "Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge him "as such. The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a good disposition of Health, and so Answer'd little, as a Man that would rather receive his Life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of *Norwich* behaved himself with great submission to the Court, and with all those Addresses as were most like to reconcile his Judges to him and to prevail over their Affections: spoke of "His being "bred up in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time of "Queen *Elizabeth*; of his having been a Servant to King "*James* all his Reign; of his dependence upon Prince *Harry* "afterwards, upon the late King; of the obligations he had "to the Crown, and of his Endeavours to serve it; and con cluded as a Man that would be beholding to them if they would give him leave to live.

Then the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of Norwich.

The Lord Capel.

THE Lord *Capel* appear'd undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "That in the condition and "capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War, he said, the "Lawyers and Gown-men had nothing to do with him, and "therefore he would not Answer to any thing which they "had said against him (*Steel* having treated him with great rudeness and insolence) but insisted upon "The Law of Na "tions, which exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to "Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many "days; which were long since expired. He urged "The de "claration which *Fairfax* the General had made to Him, and "the rest of the Prisoners, after the death of Sr *Charles Luc* "and Sr *George Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be "

"in danger, which he had Witneſſes ready to prove, if they "might be admitted; and concluded, "That, if he had com- "mitted any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by "his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; "the benefit whereof he required. *Ireton*, who was preſent, and ſate as one of his Judges, denied "That the General had "made any ſuch promiſe, that if he had, that the Parlia- "ment's Authority could not be reſtrain'd thereby; and put him in mind of his Carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General's civility. The other inſiſted ſtill on the promiſe; and urged "That the General might be ſent "for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, but, in regard of his indiſpoſition of Health, they ſaid "They "would ſend to him, whilſt they proceeded againſt Sr *John* "*Owen*, who was the other Priſoner.

HE Anſwer'd them without any application, "That he was "a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught "to obey the King; that he had ſerv'd him honeſtly during "the War, and finding afterwards that many honeſt Men en- "deavour'd to raiſe Forces, whereby they might get him "out of Priſon, He did the like; and the High Sheriff en- "deavour'd to oppoſe him, and ſo chanced to be kill'd; which "he might have avoided if he had ſtaid at home: and con- cluded like a Man that did not much care what they reſolv'd concerning him. *Sr* John Owen.

WHETHER the Queſtion was well ſtated to *Fairfax*, or what was elſe ſaid to him to diſſwade him from owning his Declaration and promiſe, he boggled ſo much in his Anſwer, that they would be of opinion, "That he had not made ſuch "direct and poſitive promiſe; and that the ſame was never "tranſmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; "and that, at moſt, it could but exempt thoſe Priſoners from "being tried before a Court, or council of War, and could "not be underſtood as an obligation upon the Parliament, "not to give direction to ſuch a legal Proceeding againſt "them, as they ſhould find neceſſary for the Peace, and "Safety of the Kingdom. The Preſident *Bradſhaw* told the Lord *Capel*, with many inſolent expreſſions, "That he was "tried before ſuch Judges as the Parliament thought fit to "aſſign him; and who had judged a better Man than himſelf. So the Sentence of death was pronounced againſt all five of them, "That they ſhould loſe their heads; upon which Sr *John* *Owen* made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being ask'd by a Stander by, "What he meant? he ſaid aloud, "It was a very great honour to a poor Gentleman of "*Wales* to loſe his head with ſuch noble Lords; and ſwore a great Oath, "That he was afraid they would have hanged him. *All five* condemned.

THE

THE Prisoners were all carried to St *James*'s; where the were to remain till their Execution two days after; whic time their Friends and Relations, had to endeavour to pr ſerve their lives by the Power and Authority of the Parli ment; where there were ſo many ſitting who had not ſate i judgment upon them, and who were of ſeveral Affection and liable to ſeveral temptations, that there might be a reaſon able hope to reſcue them from the cruel and unjuſt Judgmen Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no way untrie to prevail; offer'd, and gave Money to ſome who were wil ing to receive it, and made promiſes accordingly. But the who had the greateſt credit, and moſt power to terrify othe who ſhould diſpleaſe them, were inexorable; yet dealt much more honeſtly than the reſt, that they declared to th Ladies, who ſollicited for their Husbands and their Father "That they would not endeavour to do them Service. *Ireto* above all Men, continued his inſolent and dogged hu mour, and told them, "If He had credit, they ſhould all dy Others, who gave better Words, had no better Meanin than he.

ALL their Petitions were read in order, being penn'd i ſuch Styles as the Friends, who ſollicited for them, were ac viſed. Duke *Hamilton*'s Petition being read, many, upon th motives of Juſtice, and as they imagined his death, might b the occaſion of new Troubles between the two Nations, ſinc *Scotland* could not but reſent it, would have been willin he ſhould live. But he had fewer Friends to his Perſon tha any of the reſt; and *Cromwell* knew well that his being ou of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whor the Peace of that Kingdom depended: ſo that when his Pe tition was read, it was rejected by very much the Major par of Voices. The conſideration of the Earl of *Holland* took u a long Debate: the Intereſt and Interpoſition of the Earl o *Warwick*, his Brother, was apply'd; and every Presbyterian to a Man, was ſollicitous to preſerve him. They urged, "Hi "merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the Trou "bles; how much he had ſuffer'd in the Court for his Affe ction to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which would no "ſuffer him long to enjoy that Life they ſhould give him "and the conſideration of his Wife, and Children, whic "were numerous. But theſe Arguments ſtirr'd up others, to inveigh againſt his backſlidings with the more bitterneſs, and to undervalue the Services he had ever done; to tax his Va nities, and his breach of Faith. When the Queſtion was put concerning him, they who were for the Negative, exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes; *Cromwell* having more than an ordinary Animoſity againſt him, for his behaviour

ehaviour in the beginning of the Summer, and for ſome ords of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning imſelf. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the Stage: ho having always liv'd a chearful and jovial Life, without ontracting many Enemies, had many there who wiſh'd him ell, and few who had Animoſity againſt him; ſo that when ie Queſtion was put concerning him, the Houſe was equally ivided, the Votes which rejected his Petition, and thoſe hich would preſerve his Life, were equal: ſo that his Life r Death depended upon the ſingle Vote of the Speaker; who old the Houſe, "That he had receiv'd many obligations from that Lord; and that once when he had been like to have incurr'd the King's diſpleaſure, by ſome miſinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the Lord *Goring* under which ſtyle he was treated, the additional of *Norich* not being allow'd by them upon their old Rule) "Had by his Credit preſerv'd him, and remov'd the prejudice that was againſt him, and therefore he was oblig'd in gratitude to give his Vote for the ſaving him. By this good ortune he came to be preſerv'd; whether the ground of it ere true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an xcuſe for ſaving any Man's Life who was but to ask it in that lace.

THE Lord *Capel*, ſhortly after he was brought Priſoner o the Tower from *Windſor* Caſtle, had by a wonderful adenture, having a Cord and all things neceſſary convey'd to im, let himſelf down out of the Window of his Chamber n the Night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been irected through what part of the Ditch he might be beſt able o wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether here was no ſafer place, he found the Water and the Mud o deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the Water came up to his Chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the atigue of drawing himſelf out of ſo much Mud ſo intoleable, that his Spirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready o call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back gain to the Priſon, than to be found in ſuch a place, from whence he could not extricate himſelf, and where he was eady to expire. But it pleaſed God, that he got at laſt to he other ſide; where his Friends expected him, and carried im to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remain'd two or three Nights ſecure from any diſcovery, notwithſtanding he diligence that could not but be uſed to recover a Man hey deſign'd to uſe no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he truſted much, and who deſerv'd to be truſted, conceiving that he might be more ſecure in a place to which there

there was less resort, and where there were so many harbour'd who were every day sought after, had provided Lodging for him in a private House in *Lambeth* Marsh; and calling upon him in an Evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple Stairs, than to trust one of that People with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well disguis'd as he thought necessary) and his Friend, put themselves, and bid the Water-man to row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their passage thither, the other Gentleman call'd him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiscern'd, follow'd them, till he saw into what House they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, "What he would "give him to bring him to the place where the Lord *Capel* "lay? And the Officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the House, where that excellent Person was seised upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the Petition, that his Wife had deliver'd, was read, many Gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mention'd the great Virtues which were in him; and "That he had ne"ver deceiv'd them, or pretended to be of their Party; but "always resolutely declar'd himself for the King: and *Crom*well, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and profess'd to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all Men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "That his Affection to the Publick so much "weigh'd down his private Friendship, that he could not but "tell them, that the Question was now, whether they would "preserve the most bitter and most implacable Enemy they "had: that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and knew "that he would be the last Man in *England* that would for "sake the Royal Interest; that he had great Courage, Indus"try, and Generosity; that he had many Friends who would "always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what "condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their "sides; and therefore, for the good of the Common-wealth "he should give his Vote against the Petition. *Ireton*'s Hatred was Immortal: he spake of him, and against him, as of a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were sway'd by the Argument that had been urg'd against Duke *Hamilton*, "That God was not pleas'd that he should Escape "because He had put him into their hands again, when he "was at liberty. And so, after a long Debate, though there was not a Man who had not a value for him, and very few who

who had a particular Malice, or Prejudice towards him, the Queſtion being put, the Negative was more by three or four Voices: ſo that, of the four Lords, three were without the Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no other Petition preſented, *Ireton* told them, "There had been great 'Endeavours and Sollicitation us'd to ſave all thoſe Lords; 'but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Per- 'ſon for whom no one Man had ſpoke a word, nor had he 'himſelf ſo much as Petition'd them; and therefore he deſired, 'that Sr *John Owen*, might be peſerv'd by the meer Motive, 'and goodneſs of the Houſe it ſelf; which found little oppoſi- tion; whether they were ſatiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by this Inſtance, that the Nobility ſhould ſee that a Commoner ſhould be preferr'd before them.

A SCAFFOLD was erected before *Weſtminſter* Hall, and all the Priſoners condemn'd were brought from St *James's* (as well the two who were repriev'd, as the three who were to ſuffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murder of the King, to Sr *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe, at the upper end of *Weſtminſter* Hall; where they were ſuffer'd to repoſe themſelves about the ſpace of an hour, and then were led ſucceſſively through the Hall to the Scaffold. Duke *Hamilton* being firſt; who ſeem'd yet to have ſome hope of a Reprieve, and made ſome ſtay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and, after a ſhort whiſper, in which he found there was no hope, he aſcended the Scaffold. He complain'd much of "The 'injuſtice that was done him; and that he was put to death 'for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had not 'done, he muſt have been put to death there. He acknow- ledged the Obligations he had to the King, and ſeem'd not ſorry for the gratitude he had expreſſed, how dear ſoever it coſt him. His natural darkneſs, and reſervation in his diſcourſe, made him to be thought a Wiſe man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual diſ- courſes of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both theſe miſtakes were the Cauſe that made him be looked upon as a worſe and more dangerous Man, than in truth he deſerv'd to be.

Duke Hamilton beheaded March 9.

THE Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who by his long ſickneſs, was ſo ſpent, that his Spirits ſerv'd not to entertain the People with long diſcourſe. He ſpoke of "His Reli- 'gion, as a matter unqueſtionable, by the Education he had 'had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch: which was thought a ſtrange diſcourſe for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's Houſe, which ſhould rather have been buried in ſilence, than,

The Earl of Holland *the ſame day.*

by

by such an unseasonable Testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his Duty to him, which most good Men believ'd to be the Source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have liv'd long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The Lord Capel,

THE Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Westminster* Hall, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence, but at the foot of the Scaffold the Soldiers stopping the Dr, his Lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that rude People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr being well known to be most contrary.

ASSOON as his Lordship had ascended the *Scaffold*, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "Whether the other "Lords had spoken to the People with their Hats on? and being told, that "They were bare; he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice, he said "That he was brought thither to dye for doing that which he "could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conscience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always "obedient; and in the bosom of a Church, which he thought "the best in the world: that he had never violated his Faith "to either of those, and was now condemn'd to dye against "all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did submit.

HE enlarged himself in commending "The great Virtue "and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who "was so just and so merciful a Prince; and prayed to God "to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the present King, who, he told them, "was their true and their Lawful Soveraign; and was worthy "to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years "near his Person, and therefore he could not but know him "well; and assured them, "That he was a Prince of great un-

"derstanding;

"derſtanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an "entire Lover of Juſtice, and of exemplary Piety: that he "was not to be ſhaken in his Religion; and had all thoſe "Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy; and therefore adviſed them "To ſubmit to his Government, as "the only means to preſerve themſelves, their poſterity, and "the Proteſtant Religion. And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after ſome Prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he ſubmitted himſelf, with an unparallell'd Chriſtian Courage, to the fatal ſtroke, which depriv'd the Nation of the Nobleſt Champion it had.

The Lord Capel's Character.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could diſcover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom *Cromwell*'s own Character well deſcribed; and who indeed would never have been contented to have liv'd under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and reverenced, though few follow'd his Example. He had always liv'd in a State of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Iſſue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: ſo that no Man was more happy in all his Domeſtick Affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them.

And yet the King's Honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt Power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own Honour and Conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterpriſes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excuſed him for ſome remiſſion of his former warmth. But it made no other impreſſion upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilſt they would let him alone, and with the ſame chearfulneſs to obey the firſt Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever ſhall, after Him, deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is laid in the Ballance with, and compared to that of the Lord *Capel*.

The Concluſion and Character of the Year 1648.

So ended the Year One thouſand ſix hundred forty eight; a Year of Reproach and Infamy above all Years which had

paſſed before it; a Year of the higheſt diſſimulation and hypocriſy, of the deepeſt Villany and moſt bloody Treaſons, that any Nation was ever curſed with, or under: a Year, in which the Memory of all the Tranſactions ought to be raſed out of all Records, leſt, by the ſucceſs of it, Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Rebellion, ſhould be propagated in the world: a Year, of which We may ſay, as the Hiſtorian ſaid of the time of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute*; or, as the ſame Writer ſays of a time not altogether ſo wicked, *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XII.

2 Chron. XXVIII. 10.

And now ye purpoſe to keep under the Children of Judah and Jeruſalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins againſt the Lord your God?

Iſai. XXIX. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep ſleep, and hath cloſed your eyes: the Prophets and your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.

WHILST theſe Tragedies were acting in *England*, and Ordinances form'd, as hath been ſaid, to make it Penal in the higheſt degree for any Man to aſſume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man to be ſo, the King himſelf remain'd in a very diſconſolate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known the deſperate ſtate his Father was long in, yet the barbarous ſtroke ſo ſurpriſed him, that he was in all the Confuſion imaginable, and all about him were almoſt bereft of their underſtanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what a conſternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, even by the common People of that Country. There was a Woman at the *Hague*, of the midling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general deteſtation, than there was, amongſt all Men of what Quality ſoever.

The young King's condition at the Hague.

The States condole with him.

foever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a Body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the Murder of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, save that there was not bitterness enough against the Rebels and Murderers. The States of *Holland*, apart; perform'd the same Civility towards his Majesty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The new Council sworn.

THE desperateness of the King's Condition, could not excuse his sinking under the Burthen of his Grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much Courage as was necessary for his present State. He thereupon caused those of his Father's Council who had attended him to be sworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr *Long* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who notwithstanding the great Agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of Sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "That he could not do better "than to repair into *France* assoon as was possible, and, in "the mean time, desired him, not to swear any Persons to be "of his Council, till She could speak with him. Whether it was, that she did not think those Persons to be enough at her Devotion; or that she would have them receive that Honour upon her recommendation.

The Queen's first Message to him.

THE King himself had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of Courtesy; and he resolv'd to perform all Filial respect towards the Queen his Mother, without such a condescention and resignation of himself, as she expected; and to avoid all Eclarcisments upon that Subject, he heartily desired that any other Course might be found more Counsellable than that he should go into *France*. He himself lived with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own Person, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards another support for himself and his Family, his Majesty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way: and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there some years, but pretended then to reside there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of *English* Parents) and without any publick Character, though he was still under the same

ſame Credentials. And their Advertiſements from *London* aſſured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was preſently to be ſent as their Embaſſadour, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance with them. So that it was time to think of ſome other Retreat for the King; and none appear'd then ſo ſeaſonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "That Prince *Rupert* was arriv'd 'ſafely at *Kingſale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had 'made a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh*, before the Lord Lieute-'nant came thither; and the *Iriſh* had deſerted the Pope's 'Nuntio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himſelf 'for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was receiv'd by the 'Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which 'he became entirely poſſeſſed of the whole Province of *Mun-'ſter*; and that the Confederate Roman Catholicks had in-'vited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace 'with them: ſo that they were preparing an Army to march 'under his Command againſt *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it ſo much, that it would be fit for the King to Tranſport his own Perſon hither in the Spring.

The King thinks of going into Ireland. *The Affairs there at that time.*

In this conjuncture there arriv'd a Gentleman, one Sr *Joſeph Douglaſs*, with a Letter from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, by which they ſent his Majeſty word that they had proclaim'd him King of *Scotland*; and ſent him the Proclamation; and wiſh'd "That he would prepare himſelf 'to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which, 'they would ſpeedily ſend another Invitation to him. And that Invitation arriv'd at the ſame time with ſome Commiſſioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers ſent from the Commiſſioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declar'd, "For that as much as the 'late King was, contrary to the Diſſent and Proteſtation of 'that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent death, that, by the 'Lord's Bleſſing, there was left unto them a righteous Heir, 'and lawful Succeſſor, *Charles*, &c. who was become their true 'and lawful King; but upon condition of "his good beha-'viour, and ſtrict obſervation of the Covenant, and his en-'tertaining no other Peſons about him but ſuch as were God-ly Men, and faithful to that obligation. A Proclamation ſo ſtrangely worded, that, though it call'd him their King, manifeſted enough to him, that he was to be ſubject to their determinations, in all the parts of his Government. And the Commiſſioners, both Laity and Clergy, ſpoke no other language; and ſaving that they bowed their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear'd more like Embaſſadors

The King proclaim'd in Scotland; *and Commiſſioners thence ſent to him.*

from a free State to an equal Ally, than like Subjects sent to their own Soveraign. At the same time, though not in the same Ship, arriv'd likewise from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*, and Earl of *Lautherdale*; the former not knowing, till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton* by the slaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two were so far from having and Authority from their Country, that they were fled from thence as proscrib'd Persons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, after his departure from the *Hague*, in that discontent that is mention'd before, bent his course for *Scotland*. But before he came thither, he was inform'd, that the state of all things had been revers'd, and the Engagement declar'd unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means to send on shore to some Friends, and so to concert all things, that without being discover'd, the Earl of *Lanrick*, and some other Persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same Ship, and arriv'd in *Holland* about that time when the other Messengers from the State and from the Kirk came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

Lanrick, now Duke Hamilton, and Lautherdale, came to him also.

WHEREUPON the new Duke kept his Chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the King; who sent a gracious Message to him to condole for the loss of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other Persons of Quality about the King, made their visits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in Wisdom, and Parts of Understanding, to the wisest Man of that Nation, and was very much esteem'd by those who did not like the complying, and insinuating Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great Honour, Courage, and sincerity in his Nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was still the same Man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the Errors he had run into; which he acknowledg'd always with great ingenuity, and abhorr'd the whole proceedings of his Country-men; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogg'd with scruples and reservations for the King's service, than any other of them did.

The Character of this Duke Hamilton.

THOUGH *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left *Argyle* in full Possession of the Government there, and had reduced, and disbanded all those who were in Arms against him and promised him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise against him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compell'd the Committee of Estates to convene, and summon the Parliament to Assemble, which they had authority do do; and so he had suppress'd the Party of *Hamilton* driver

The condition of Scotland about this time.

driven the Earl of *Lanrick* to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemn'd the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the Persons who advanced and promoted it, as Deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand Excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he propos'd; yet, after the Parliament had serv'd him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Priledges were taken from them by the insolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those Sects and Libertinism they heard were introduc'd in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himself had promis'd should be strictly observ'd) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant it self. The delivery of the King's Person into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Castle* had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland*, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took it self to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the universal indignation against that Action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honour of the Nation might in some degree be repair'd, or redeem'd. It was a gross oversight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and discern'd then to be so by the Earl of *Lanrick*, that, upon that Popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, *Argyle* himself and all his Faction had not been totally suppress'd, for the redemption of the honour of their Country. But that Duke's Politicks did not lie that way; and so he might return to his old Post of favour in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody Enterprises in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, used not be short-liv'd in that Climate after once begun, but had always fresh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

Commissioners had been sent from the Parliament of Scotland *before the death of the King to the Parliament of* England.

THEY had no sooner heard of the erection of a High Court of Justice, and of a purpose of Trying the King for his Life, than, notwithstanding all the Artifices *Argyle* could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renew'd the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Person, of which the present danger he was in, was the Consequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a share in that Wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that Subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seem'd

equally concern'd in the honour of the Nation, to profecute an high Expoſtulation with thoſe of *England*, for the breach of Faith, and the Promiſes, which had been made for the ſafety, and preſervation of the King's Perſon, at the time he was deliver'd up; and therefore propos'd, "That Commiſſioners "ſhould be forthwith ſent to the Parliament at *London*, to re- "quire the performance of what they had promiſed, and to "enter their diſſent, and proteſtation againſt all their Pro- "ceedings againſt their King, in the Name of the Kingdom "of *Scotland*. And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others, who were known to be moſt zealous for the Covenant, and moſt enrag'd and incens'd againſt the proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and preſently ſent away, that they might make all poſſible haſte to *Weſtminſter*, and were, immediately upon their Arrival, to demand permiſſion to wait upon the King, wherever he ſhould be, and to receive from him ſuch farther directions, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for his ſervice.

THUS far *Argyle* could not oppoſe; and therefore was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing that the particular Inſtructions muſt be prepar'd by a leſs number of Men, and not ſubjected to the examination and peruſal of ſo many. And in thoſe, he was ſure to prevent any inconvenient Powers to be granted to the Commiſſioners, with whom he had Credit enough, having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, and the other two being (however ſollicitous for the due obſervation of the Covenant, as he himſelf likewiſe pretended to be) known to be moſt averſe from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private Inſtructions were, "That they ſhould not, in their enlargements and "aggravations upon the Subject of their Meſſage, ſeem to take "notice, or to imply, that any violence had been us'd againſt "the Parliament, or any Member of it: That they ſhould be "ſo ſhort in their expoſtulations, that they gave no occaſions of "offence: That nothing ſhould fall from them juſtifying the "King's Proceedings, nor in approbation of the late Engage- "ment, or which might import a breach, or give, or be "ground of a new War: They ſhould urge, that the Parlia- "ment, would delay to meddle with the King's Perſon, accord- "ing to their ſeveral Promiſes, and Declarations at *New-Caſtle*, "and at *Holmby*: That if they ſhould proceed to Sentence "againſt the King, then they were to enter their diſſent and "proteſt, that this Kingdom may be free from the Miſeries "which will inevitably follow, without offering in their rea- "ſons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and Juſtice: "That none in the Parliament of *Scotland* hath, or had any "hand in the proceedings againſt the King, or Members of "Parliament

Their private Inſtructions from Argyle's *Party.*

"Parliament in *England*. If they proceed, then to ſhew the "Calamities that will follow, and how grievous it muſt be to "the Kingdom of *Scotland*, conſidering his being deliver'd up "at *New-Caſtle*: That if the Papers which were intitul'd, *The "Agreement of the People*, appear'd to be countenanced, and "ſhould import any thing concerning the Proceſſing of the "Prince, or changing the Fundamental Government of the "Kingdom, they ſhould enter their diſſent: That they ſhould "alter thoſe their Inſtructions, and manage their Truſt there-"in, according to the advice they ſhould receive from their "Friends there: That they ſhould proſecute their Inſtructions "concerning the Covenant, and againſt any Toleration: That "they ſhould ſhew, that the King's laſt Conceſſions were un-"ſatisfactory to thoſe Propoſitions which they had made in "point of Religion.

THESE were their private Inſtructions; and who thoſe Friends at *London* were, by whoſe advice they were to alter their Inſtructions, or manage their Truſt therein, can be underſtood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young Sr *Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held cloſe Correſpondence. The Commiſſioners obſerv'd their Inſtructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Juſtice, they gave in their very calm Proteſtation; in which they put them in mind, "That they had near three Weeks "before, repreſented to them what Endeavours had been us'd "for taking away the King's Life, and for the change of the "Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing "a ſinful and ungodly Toleration in matters of Religion; and "that therein they had expreſs'd their Thoughts, and Fears of "the dangerous Conſequences, that might follow thereupon; "and that they had alſo earneſtly preſs'd, that there might be "no farther proceeding againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, which "would certainly continue the great diſtractions of the King-"dom, and involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Con-"fuſions; but that, by the free Counſels of both Houſes of "Parliament of *England*, and with the advice and conſent of "the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſuch courſe might be taken in "relation to the King, as might be for the good and happi-"neſs of both Kingdoms; both having an unqueſtionable, "and undeniable right in his Perſon, as King of both; which "duly conſider'd, they had reaſon to hope, that it would have "given a ſtop to all farther proceedings againſt his Majeſty's "Perſon. But now underſtanding that after the Impriſonment, "and Excluſion of divers Members of the Houſe of Com-"mons, and without, and againſt the conſent of the Houſe of "Peers, by a ſingle Act of their own, and Their's alone, "Power was given to certain Perſons of their own Members,

Upon the King's Trial they enter their Proteſtation and Diſſent.

"of

"of the Army, and some others, to proceed against his Ma-
"jesty's Person, in order whereunto he had been brought be-
"fore that extraordinary new Court; they did therefore in
"the name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their vindica-
"tion from false Aspersions and Calumnies, declare, that though
"they were not satisfied with his Majesty's late Concessions,
"in the Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in
"the matters of Religion, and were resolv'd not to crave his
"Restoration to his Government, before satisfaction should
"be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unani-
"mously with one voice, not one Member excepted, disclaim
"the least knowledge of, or occasion to the late Proceedings
"of the Army here against the King; and did sincerely pro-
"fess that it would be a great grief to their Hearts, and lie
"heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see the trusting his
"Majesty's Person to the two Houses of the Parliament of
"*England* to be made use of to his Ruin, contrary to the de-
"clar'd Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn
"Professions of the Kingdom of *England*: And to the end that
"it might be manifest to the World, how much they did
"abominate and detest so horrid a design against his Maje-
"sty's Person, they did, in the Name of the Parliament and
"Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their dissent from the said
"Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesty's Life: pro-
"testing, that as they were altogether free from the same, so
"they might be free from all the Miseries, evil Consequences,
"and Calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted
"Kingdoms.

WHOEVER considers the wariness in the wording and timing this Protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Prison, and so governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) must conclude that both the Commissioners, and they who sent them, labour'd and consider'd more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present Mischief they seem'd to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deferr'd taking notice of their Protestation, till after they had executed their execrable Villany; and then they sent them an Answer that might suit with all their Pa-

The Parliament after the King's Murder send their Answer to it.

lates. They said, "They had heretofore told them, what power
"this Nation had in the Fundamentals of Government: That
"if *Scotland* had not the same Power and Liberty, as they
"went not about to confine Them, so they would not be
"limited by them, but leaving them to act in Theirs as they
"should see cause, they resolv'd to maintain their own Li-
"berties

"berties as God ſhould enable them. And as they were very "far from impoſing upon them, ſo they ſhould not willingly "ſuffer impoſitions from them, whilſt God gave them ſtrength "or lives to oppoſe them. They ſaid, "The Anſwer they "made to their firſt and ſecond Letter was, that after a long and "ſerious Deliberation of their own intrinſical Power, and Truſt "(deriv'd to them by the Providence of God, through the "delegation of the People) and upon the like conſiderations "of what themſelves, and the whole Nation had ſuffer'd from "the Miſgovernment, and Tyranny of that King, both in "Peace, and by the Wars, and conſidering, how fruitleſs, "and full of danger and prejudice the many Addreſſes to him "for Peace had been, and being Conſcious how much they "had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the im-"partial execution of Juſtice, in relation to the innocent "Blood ſpilt and miſchief done in the late Wars, they had "proceeded in ſuch a courſe of Juſtice againſt that Man of "Blood, as they doubted not the juſt God (who is no re-"ſpecter of Perſons) did approve and would countenance "with his bleſſings upon the Nation; and though perhaps "they might meet with many difficulties before their Liber-"ties and Peace were ſettled, yet they hoped they ſhould be "preſerv'd from Confuſion, by the good Will of him who "dwelt in the Buſh, which burn'd, and was not conſumed; "and that the courſe they had taken with the late King, and "meant to follow towards others the Capital Enemies of their "Peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good "and happineſs of both Nations; of which if that of *Scotland* "would think to make uſe, and vindicate their own Liberty "and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave them "not away) they would be ready to give them all Neigh-"bourly and Friendly Aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing thereof; "and deſired them to take it into their moſt ſerious conſide-"ration, before they eſpouſed that quarrel, which could bring "them no other advantage than the entailing upon Them, "and their Poſterities, a laſting War, with all the Miſeries "which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant and his "Iſſue.

It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themſelves a poor Republick, under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commiſſioners, who well knew how unſuitable ſuch a change would be to the conſtitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Anſwer with more Courage than they had yet expreſſed; for which notwithſtanding their Qualification, they were Im-priſon'd

The Commiſſioners reply, and are im-priſon'd, but afterwards freed.

prison'd by the Parliament; and, upon new Instance from *Scotland*, set at liberty afterwards.

The Marquis of Argyle clogs the Act for Proclaiming of the King with a Clause for the Covenant.

MATTERS being reduced to this State, the Marquis of *Argyle* could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged, and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his Master-piece to clog the Proclamation it self with such conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and therefore he caused this Clause to be inserted in the Body of the Proclamation it self, "Because his Majesty is bound, by the "Law of God, and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, "to rule in Righteousness and Equity, to the Honour of God, "and the good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People; "it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the Ex-"ercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this "Kingdom in those things which concern the security of Re-"ligion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and "Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant "and Solemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were "resolv'd with all possible Expedition, to make their humble "and earnest Address to his Majesty.

THIS was the Proclamation that Sr *Joseph Douglass* brought to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commissioners were to invite his Majesty to go for *Scotland*, whose Instructions were very suitable to the Proclamation: and at the same time when the Commissioners came from thence, *Middleton*, and some other Officers, who had been in their last Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaim'd King, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those Troops which had formerly serv'd under them in the North of *Scotland*; whereupon *David Lesley* was appointed forthwith, with a Party of Horse and Foot, against those Royalists, whom they knew to be real Assertors of his Cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their Duties, as Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the same time declar'd, "That before the King should be receiv'd, albeit "they had declared his Right by Succession, he should first "sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk's Censure, renounce "the Sins of his Fathers House, and the Iniquity of his Mo-"ther, with other things of the like Nature. All which In-formation arriv'd at the same time with the Commissioners, that they who were about the King, might not be too much Exalted with their Master's being declar'd King of one of his three Kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that passed then and afterwards, that the Marquis of *Argyle* meant only to satisfy the People, in declaring that they had a King, with-

Middleton assembles some Troops in Scotland.

out

out which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew, he would not submit to; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the *Kirk*, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell's* assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards Monarchy by Proclaiming a King.

Factions in the King's Court with reference to Scotland.

It was a great Misfortune to the King, and which always attends Courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest Union imaginable amongst the few Friends he had was necessary, and of too little Power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelm'd him, there was yet so great a Faction, and Animosity amongst them, that destroy'd any the most probable design that could offer it self; as it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if united, might yet be able to give Reputation at least, if not a vigorous Assistance to the King's Interest.

The Marquis of Mountrose arrives in France:

The Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had been mention'd before, had been oblig'd by the late King to lay down his Arms; and after he had perform'd such wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the *Scotish* Army to *New-Castle*, had first arriv'd in *France*, and had not such a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had perform'd for the King had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to *Paris*, he caused to be published in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Person, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, so the Reputation of all the rest of that Nation (upon whose Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depressed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a Man of *Eclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had serv'd under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in streights enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best Services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her Graces were still more towards those who were like to do Services, than to those who Had done them. So that after a long attendance and some overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raise an Army for the Service of that King, which he did not think were receiv'd with that regard his great name deserv'd, the Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the Emperor's

Thence goes into Germany.

Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he should come to command them; and was return'd to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the Murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, "If "his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring "any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send "over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Sevenberg*, a Town "in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and "had matters to communicate to him of much importance to "his Majesty's Service. Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and "If he could, without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) wished, "He might be perswaded rather for "some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than pre-"sently to appear there; which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgment believ'd his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to confer with him in a Village near the Hague.

THE suddain violent Frost, which shut up all the Rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seem'd to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the World, that there appear'd no less alteration to be in his Humour, and Discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seem'd rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* since the Murder of the King, and he seem'd to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what the

the King's ſenſe ſhould be of the matters diſcourſed between them; inſiſting principally, "That, if his going into *Scotland* "ſhould be thought preſently to be neceſſary, it would then "be as neceſſary, that he ſhould not be taken notice of pub- "lickly to have been with the King: with which reaſon he ſeem'd ſatisfied; and promiſed "Not to come to the *Hague*, "till he ſhould firſt receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Commiſſioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and preſented himſelf to the King; who receiv'd him with a very good countenance.

The Marquis comes to the Hague.

THERE were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commiſſioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much perſecuted by that Party, which then govern'd *Scotland* and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had ſerv'd the King from the beginning. There was alſo the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Kinoul*, and others, who adher'd to *Mountroſe*, and believ'd his clear Spirit to be moſt like to advance the King's Service. Of theſe three Parties, it might reaſonably have been hoped that the two laſt being equally perſecuted by the Power that govern'd, ſhould have been eaſily United to have Suppreſſed the other. But it was a buſineſs too hard for the King to bring to paſs; and he could as eaſily have perſwaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement*, and thoſe who had joyn'd with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Mountroſe*: So that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scotiſh* Nobility together, to have conſulted what Anſwer, he ſhould give to the Meſſages he had receiv'd from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themſelves were enough offended, thoſe Lords of the *Engagement* did not only refuſe to meet with the Lord *Mountroſe*, but aſſoon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majeſty himſelf was preſent, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to deſire the King, "That the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (whom they "call'd *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into his "Majeſty's Preſence, or Court, becauſe he ſtood Excommu- "nicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and for- "feited by the Judicatory of that Kingdom. This Propo- ſition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their Hands, and abounded ſo much in this ſenſe, that a

The Parties of the Scots *now at the* Hague.

Learned

Learned and Worthy *Scotish* Divine, Dr *Wishart*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scotish* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the *Sunday* following, they formally besought the King, "That he "would not suffer him to Preach before him, nor to come in- "to his Presence, because he stood Excommunicated by the "Kirk of *Scotland*, for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, That they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Mountrose*'s Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appear'd ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had serv'd the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having perform'd their duties of Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having serv'd his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of Indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declar'd his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Mountrose* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joynt advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concern'd himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scotish* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that they might be remov'd, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he contemn'd too much and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence the more desireable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomenter, and Prosecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lautherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a Subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desir'd him "To inform him, what foul Offence the Marquis of "*Mountrose* had ever committed, that should hinder those to "make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the Re- "bel

"bels were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who "could not more desire the King's Restitution than he did. The Earl told him calmly enough, "That he could not ima- "gine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Moun-* "*trose* was guilty of, in the time he made a War in *Scotland*; "that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but pursued all the "Advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruel- "ty: that he had in one Battle kill'd fifteen hundred of one "Family, of the *Campbels*, of the blood and name of *Argyle*, "and that he had utterly rooted out several Names, and en- "tire noble Families. The other told him, "That it was the "Nature and Condition of that War, that Quarter was given "on neither side; that those Prisoners which were taken "by the *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Ho- "nour of his Party, were afterwards in cold Blood hang'd re- "proachfully, which was much worse than if they had been "kill'd in the Field; and asked him, "If *Mountrose* had ever "caused any Man to dye in cold Blood, or after the Battle "was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more "to be imputed to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his "want of humanity. The Earl confessed, "That he did not "know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in "the Field; but concluded with more passion, "That his be- "haviour there was so Savage, that *Scotland* would never for- "give him. And in other Company, where the same Sub- "ject was debated, he swore with great passion, "That though "he wish'd nothing more in this World than to see the King "Restor'd, he had much rather that he should never be Re- "stor'd, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to "come into the Court: of which Declaration of his the King was inform'd by *William Legg* and Sr *William Armorer*, who were both present at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he said it.

Earl of Lauther- *dale's dis- course a- gainst* Mountrose.

THERE was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *Newburgh*, who, after the Murder of the late King, was com- pell'd together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigney*, to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making discoveries of corre- spondencies which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have had a part in the former War, had been then sent by his Majesty's direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he return'd not till his Majesty was in the hands of the *Scotish* Army; and from that time he perform'd all the Offices of Fidelity, and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Person could find any opportunity for: with which his Majesty was

abundantly satisfied and pleased: and he now Transported himself and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the King in any Expedition.

THIS Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and most trusted and conversant in those Intrigues, which at that time could be best manag'd and carried on by Ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all Companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret Transactions with the *Scots*, and had much Conversation with the Lord *Lanrick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton* Court, and whilst he stay'd afterwards in *London*, when the King was Imprison'd in the Isle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hague*, they had much Conversation together. She had likewise had long Acquaintance, and Friendship with one of the Council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the Father, and was believ'd to have Credit with the present King. She lamented those Divisions amongst the *Scots*, which every Body spoke of, and every Body knew the disorder they produced in the King's Councils; and said, "She desir'd nothing "more, than that there were a good understanding between "Duke *Hamilton* and Him; which, she said, "She was sure "would easily be, if they two had but once a frank Confe- "rence together. The other, who indeed had an esteem for the Duke, seem'd very desirous of it: and she thereupon told him, that "The Duke had express'd to her, that he "would be willing to embrace the occasion: and it was so concerted, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And she so dextrously introduc'd them to a Civility towards each other, and to express their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Conversation there, to which she left them, and went her self abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good Will; and the other promised to visit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other spoke of "The Procla- "mation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, "and of the strange Spirit that possessed those who govern'd "there, and perswaded them to imagine it possible, that the "King could ever be prevail'd with to take the Covenant, "or that it could be of Advantage to him to do so; since it "could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party "in *England* that had serv'd his Father, upon whom he ought "chiefly to depend for his Restoration to the Government of "that

Conference between Duke Hamilton and an English Privy Counsellor concerning the Affairs of Scotland.

"that Kingdom. Then he ſpoke of "The differences and "jealouſies which were between thoſe of that Nation who "had an equal deſire to ſerve the King, and ſeem'd to be "equally proſecuted by the Party that now prevail'd, which "had excluded both; and wiſh'd "That ſome Expedient "might be found out to Unite all thoſe; and particularly that "his Grace, and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be reconcil'd; "towards which, he ſaid, he was ſure that the Marquis had "great Inclination, and had always eſteem'd him a Man of "Honour; which appear'd by the Book which was publiſh'd, "where he was always worthily mention'd, though he had "not dealt ſo well with many others.

WHEN the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the firſt part, "Concerning the Proclama- "tion, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them, "he was not to make any other judgment by it, than only "of the Perſon of the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the "Aſſiſtance of ſome few Miniſters, and others his Creatures, "did at preſent Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there was "an abſolute neceſſity, in reſpect of the whole People, to "proclaim the King after the Murder of his Father; and "therefore he could find no other way to keep him from "coming thither, but by clogging the Proclamation and Meſ- "ſage with thoſe unworthy Expreſſions, which might deter "him from putting himſelf into their hands; which *Argyle* "did not wiſh he ſhould do, becauſe in his abſence he was "ſure he ſhould Govern all, being well agreed with *Cromwell* "how the Government ſhould be carried; and ſo the King "might be kept out, *Cromwell* would ſupport him againſt all "other Parties; but that they both knew well enough, that "if his Majeſty were once there, the whole Nation would "ſtick to him and obey him. He confeſs'd, "That there was "generally ſo great a Superſtition for the Covenant, that who- "ſoever ſhould ſpeak againſt it for the preſent, would loſe "all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much "Miſchief, and would do more whilſt it ſhould be inſiſted "upon; but, he ſaid, "That muſt be a work of time, and an "effect of the King's Government; which would find it ne- "ceſſary, in many other Reſpects, to leſſen the power of the "Miniſters; which being leſſen'd, the Reverence of the Co- "venant would quickly fall too; and till then He, and all "Men, muſt have patience. For the ſecond, he ſaid, "He "wiſhed heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties "which deſired the King's Reſtauration, and that the Animo- "ſity againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be extinguiſhed. "For his own part, that he had only one Quarrel againſt

"him, which was that, by his unjuſt Calumnies and Proſe-
"cution, he had driven him into Rebellion; which nothing
"elſe could have done. And for that he always asked God
"forgiveneſs from his Heart, and deſir'd nothing more than
"to repair his fault by loſing his life for the King; and would
"with all his Heart, joyn to morrow with the Marquis of
"*Mountroſe*, in carrying on the King's Service, though he
"did believe, in that conjuncture, the Animoſity againſt the
"Marquis was ſo great, that if he ſhould declare ſuch an In-
"clination, all his own Friends would fall from him, and
"abhor him. He ſaid, "His own Condition was very hard;
"for that having been always bred up in the Church of *Eng-*
"*land*, for which he had a great Reverence, he was forced
"to comply with the Covenant; which he perfectly deteſted,
"and looked upon it as the ruin of his Nation; and would
"be as glad as any Man of a good opportunity to declare a-
"gainſt it. But, ſaid he, "I dare not ſay this; and if I did, I
"ſhould have no power or credit to ſerve the King. There
"is, ſaid he, a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges in this
"Houſe, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, my Friend and my Kinſ-
"man; who, upon my Conſcience, loves me heartily; and
"yet I dare ſay nothing of this to him, either againſt the
"Covenant, or for the Marquis of *Mountroſe*: and if I
"ſhould, I believe he would rather chooſe to kill me, than
"to joyn with me: ſo much he is tranſported with prejudice
"in both theſe particulars, and ſo incapable to hear reaſon
"upon either of thoſe Arguments, though in all other things,
"few Men have a better underſtanding, or can diſcourſe more
"reaſonably.

WHILST they continued in all poſſible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who it ſeems was inform'd of the others being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and ſo broke off the diſcourſe. The other after ſitting ſome time in general Converſation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himſelf told the Lady *Aubigney*, who ſhortly after died there, "He could not, without giving jealouſy to his
"Friend *Lautherdale*, which he had no mind to do, ſpend ſo
"much time with the other in private as he could have been
"willing to have done: and the death of that Lady leſſen'd the opportunities.

IN this unſteady and irreſolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifeſt, that how long ſoever his Majeſty ſhould defer the reſolution, to what place he would remove, he ſhould not be able to ſtay long in the place where he was. The States, eſpecially thoſe of *Holland*, let fall ſome-

ſomewhat every day in their Counſels, and Conſultations, "That the King's reſiding in the *Hague* would be very incon- "venient to them; and it was the great Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from ſending a Meſſage directly to his Majeſty, to deſire him, "That he would depart from that Country, aſſoon as he could. And there happen'd an Accident at this time, which made the reſolution neceſſary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Meſſage, which had yet been kept back.

IT was touch'd before, that there was a purpoſe at *London*, to ſend over an Envoy from thence into *Holland*, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republicks. To that purpoſe one *Doriſlaus*, a Dr in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delpht* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Leyden*, and afterwards liv'd long in *London*, having been receiv'd into *Greſham* College as a Profeſſor in one of thoſe Chairs which are endow'd for publick Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the Exerciſe of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arriv'd at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a Houſe where Strangers uſed to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwiſe for their better accommodation. Whilſt he was at Supper, the ſame Evening that he came to the Town, in Company of many others who uſed to Eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and required thoſe who were at the Table "Not to ſtir; for "that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who "came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly Mur- "ther'd their King. And one of them, who knew *Doriſlaus*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leiſurely out of the Houſe, leaving thoſe who were in the Room, in much Amazement and Conſternation. Though all who were engaged in the Enterpriſe, went quietly away, and ſo out of the Town, inſomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in queſtion, yet they kept not their own Counſel ſo well (believing they had done a very Heroick Act) but that it was generally known they were all *Scotiſh* Men, and moſt of them Servants, or Dependents upon the Marquis of *Mountroſe*.

Doriſlaus *an Agent of the Parliament, killed at the Hague by ſome* Scotiſh *Men.*

THE King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this Accident, which he could not foreſee, and eaſily diſcern'd that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly reſent it, in many reſpects; that the

Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and imployed to them, as a publick Minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some Quarrels, and Fighting in the Streets between some Servants of the King and some Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recover'd afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustom'd, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations, and clamour for Justice they must expect, and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discover'd) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believ'd that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service: Yet they took notice of "The multitude "of Strangers which were in the Town, and how impossible "it would be for them to preserve the Peace, and good Go- "vernment thereof, if such resort were not restrain'd. They aggravated exceedingly "The indignity that had been offer'd "to the State it self, in the attempt that had been made upon "a Person under Their Protection, and for whose safety the "Publick Faith was, upon the matter, engag'd; with insinuation enough, "That it would be fit for the King to remove "from thence. Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scotish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that People, "That they were sent from the Kingdom of "*Scotland*, that was entirely and unanimously at his Maje- "sty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take "possession of his Government there, where there was al- "ready an Army preparing to assist him towards the recovery "of his other Dominions; but that there was a Party of evil

"Coun-

"Counſellors about his Majeſty, who diſſwaded him from ac-
"cepting that their Invitation, except they would be content
"to change the Government of their Church, and to eſta-
"bliſh Epiſcopacy there again. And by theſe inſinuations they perſwaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of Biſhops, for whom they had no regard, was the ſole difference between the King and Them, which kept the King from going into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without ſome apprehenſion, that by that miſtake and falſe information, the States might give him advice to accept the *Scots* Invitation. And therefore he ſent to the States of *Holland*, "That he had "a deſire to ſay ſomewhat to them, if they would aſſign him "an Audience the next day; which they readily did.

The King gives a viſit to the States of Holland, *and delivers them a Memorial.*

THE King was receiv'd in the ſame manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, after a ſhort Compliment, he deliver'd a Paper to them, which he deſired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon aſſoon as they pleas'd. The Memorial contain'd, in the firſt place, his Majeſty's acknowledgment of the Civilities he had receiv'd there, and his deſire "That by "them the States General (who were not at that time aſſembled) "might be inform'd of ſuch his Majeſty's ſenſe of their "kindneſs; eſpecially in the full and high deteſtation they "had expreſs'd of the impious, and unparallell'd Murder of "his Royal Father of Bleſſed Memory, their faſt and un-"ſhaken Ally, by which the Forms and Rules of all kind of "Government were no leſs violated and diſſolv'd, than that of "Monarchy: That he came to inform them that he did intend "in a ſhort time, ſo to diſpoſe of his Perſon, as might with "God's Bleſſing moſt probably advance his Affairs; and that "for the better doing thereof, and that he might in ſo impor-"tant an Affair receive their particular advice, he ſhould im-"part to them the true ſtate and condition of his ſeveral Do-"minions. That he needed not inform them of the deplora-"ble condition of his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts "and Affections of his Loyal Subjects were ſo depreſſed, and "kept under by the Power and Cruelty of thoſe who had Mur-"der'd their late Sovereign, and who every day gave freſh "and bloody inſtances of their Tyranny, to fright Men from "their Allegiance, that for the preſent no Man could believe "that miſerable Kingdom could be fit for his Majeſty to truſt "his Perſon in: That in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Ma-"jeſty is proclaim'd King, but with ſuch limitations, and re-"ſtrictions againſt his exerciſe of his Royal Power, that in "truth they had only given him the Name, and denied him "the Authority: That above five parts of ſix of the Nobility

"and chief Gentry of that Kingdom, were likewise excluded "from their just Right, and from any part in the Administra- "tion of the Publick Affairs; so that That Kingdom seem'd not "sufficiently prepared for his Majesty's reception; but that he "hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a short time "a perfect Union, and right understanding between all his "Subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due submission and obe- "dience from them all to his Majesty, for that he was re- "solv'd (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary) "to preserve and maintain the Government of Church and "State in that Kingdom, as it is establish'd by the Laws there- "of, without any violation or alteration on his part: So that "there could be no difference between him and his Subjects "of that Kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press "his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of his other "Kingdoms; which as it would be very unreasonable to de- "sire, so it is not in his power to do if he should consent, "and joyn with his Subjects of *Scotland* to that purpose: which "made him confident, that, when they had throughly weigh'd "and consider'd what was good for themselves, as well as for "Him, they would acquiesce with enjoying the Laws and "Privileges of that Kingdom, without desiring to infringe or "impose upon those of their Brethren and Neighbours. And his Majesty desir'd the States, "That if any Persons had en- "deavour'd to make any impressions upon them, that he hath, "or ever had other intentions or desires, with reference to "his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what himself now express'd to "them to have, that they would give no Credit to them: "And assured them, that they should always find him con- "stant to those resolutions, and especially, that all ways and "means which might lead to the advancement and propaga- "tion of the Protestant Religion, should be so heartily em- "braced by him, that the World should have cause to believe "him to be worthy of his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, "which he valued as his greatest Attribute.

THIS being the true present condition of his two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being necessary for his Majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his Affairs by his own Personal Activity and Vigour, he told them, "There re- "main'd only, that he should impart to them the like State "of his other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewise sent "to him, and desir'd him to repair thither with great impor- "tunity: That the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant there, "had concluded a Peace with the Roman Catholicks; and "that thereby his Majesty was entirely possess'd of three parts "of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the

"Com-

"Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be "joyn'd to his own Fleet; and that he had reaſon to hope "and to believe that *Dublin* it ſelf, and the few other places; "which had ſubmitted to the Rebellious power in *England*, "either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious "Parricide, return'd to their Allegiance, or would ſpeedily be "reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Ad- "vertiſment; which if it ſhould fall out, yet he foreſaw "many objections might be made againſt his going thither, "not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his paſ- "ſage, but of the jealouſies which would ariſe upon the large "Conceſſions which were made unto the Roman Catholicks "of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided. And having thus given them a clear Information of the State of his three Kingdoms, his Majeſty concluded with his deſire, "That the States would give him their advice as freely, to "which of them he ſhould repair; and that they would "give him all neceſſary aſſiſtance that he might proſecute "their Counſel.

MANY Men fear'd, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himſelf by this Communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himſelf to follow their Advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgment. For nothing was more commonly diſcourſed among the *Dutch*, and by many of the States themſelves, than "That the King "ought, without delay, to throw himſelf into the Arms of "*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they deſir'd: That "Biſhops were not worth the contending for; and that the "ſupporting Them, had been the ruin of his Father, and "would be His, if he continued in the ſame obſtinacy. But the King had reaſon to believe that they would not ſo much concern themſelves in his broken Affairs, as to give him Advice what to do: And it was neceſſary for him to get a little more time, upon ſome occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a poſitive reſolution which way to ſteer: for though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithſtanding the Peace that was made, there were ſeveral Parties ſtill in Arms there, beſides thoſe who adher'd to the Parliament, who refuſed to ſubmit to that Peace. Though the General Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always look'd upon as the Repreſentative of the Confederate Catholicks of that Kingdom, and to which they had always ſubmitted) had fully conſented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet *Owen* O *Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Iriſh* in *Ulſter*, and who was look'd upon as the beſt General they had

had, totally refuſed to ſubmit to it, and poſitively proteſted againſt it, as not having provided for their Intereſt; and that Councill was not ſorry for his ſeparation, there being little leſs Animoſity between thoſe of *Ulſter* and the other *Iriſh*, than was between them both and the *Engliſh*: and they knew that O *Neile* more inſiſted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any proviſion that concern'd Religion it ſelf. Then the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, who were very numerous, and under good diſcipline, and well provided with Arms and Ammunition, would not ſubmit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were reſolv'd to follow the example of their Country-men, and to ſee the King admitted and receiv'd, as well as proclaim'd, before they would ſubmit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the leſs troubled at the Obſtinacy of O *Neile* (though he had uſed all the means he had to draw him in) ſince he preſumed the *Scots* and He would mortifie each other, during the time that he ſhould ſpend in making himſelf ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs them both: For the *Scots* who would not joyn with the Marquis, were very vigorous in proſecuting the War againſt O *Neile*, and the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*. Theſe Diviſions, Factions, and Confuſions in *Ireland*, made the King the more ſollicitous that his Council ſhould be unanimous for his going thither, at leaſt that the *Scots*, how virulent ſoever againſt each other, ſhould all concur in their Advice "That it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to go for *Scotland*, which made him labour ſo much to bring the *Hamiltonians* and thoſe who follow'd *Mountroſe*, whom he believ'd both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it joyntly to the King in Council: But it is ſaid before how impoſſible it was to obtain that Conjunction.

When the King found, that it was not poſſible to bring the Lords of the *Scotiſh* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them ſeverally, that is, thoſe of the *Engagement* by themſelves, and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with his Friends by themſelves to have given him their Advice in the preſence of his Councill, that ſo, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majeſty might the more maturely have determin'd what was to do. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* expreſs'd a great willingneſs to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction, this, or any other way; being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Perſons before any Body, and in any Place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* poſitively refuſed to deliver their opinion, but to the King himſelf, and not in the preſence of his Council which, they ſaid, "Would be to confeſs a kind of ſubordina-

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"tion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent "on the Council of *England*; and Duke *Hamilton* told the Counſellor, with whom he had before ſo freely converſed, and who expoſtulated with him upon it, "That it was the "only ground of the heavy judgment in Parliament againſt "the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King's Com- "miſſioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of "tranſactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the "Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewiſe a "Member; ſo jealous that Kingdom was, and ſtill is, of their "Native Privileges; and therefore deſired, "That he might "not be preſſed to do what had been ſo penal to another in "his own ſight.

THE King ſatisfied himſelf with having all their opinions deliver'd to himſelf, ſubſcribed under all their hands, which every one conſented to: though moſt of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what condeſcenſions ſoever; becauſe they all believ'd His preſence would eaſily turn all, and that they ſhould be quickly reſtored to their Eſtates, which they cared moſt for: yet no body preſumed to give that advice, or ſeem'd to think it ſeaſonable. So that the King reſumed the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things neceſſary for that Voyage. There remain'd only one doubt, whether his Majeſty ſhould take *France* in his way, that he might ſee his Mother, who by Letters and Meſſages preſſed him very earneſtly ſo to do; or whether he ſhould embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be leſs loſs of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet ſhould put out to Sea.

THEY who did not wiſh that the Queen ſhould exerciſe any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were againſt his going into *France*, as "An occaſion of "ſpending more time than his Affairs would permit, and an "obligation to make a greater Expence than he had, or knew "where to have, means to defray: and they thought it an Argument of moment, "That from the time of the Murder "of his Father, the King had never receiv'd Letter of con- "dolement from *France*, nor the leaſt invitation to go thi- "ther. On the other ſide, they who wiſh'd, and hop'd that the Queen would have ſuch an influence upon the King that his Council ſhould have leſs credit with him, deſired very much that his Majeſty would make *France* his way. The *Scots* deſired it very much, believing they ſhould find her Majeſty very propitious to their Counſels, and inclined to truſt

their

their undertakings; and they were very sure that *Mountrose* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

THE Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should see her in the way; and proposed "That his Majesty "might appoint a place, where the Queen and He might "meet, without going to *Paris*; and, after three or four "days stay together, his Majesty might hasten his Journey to "some convenient Port, from whence he might embark for "*Ireland* by a shorter passage than from *Holland*; and the "Prince of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to at-"tend his Majesty in that *French* Port, before he should get "thither. His Majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed "That his own Goods of bulk, "and his inferior Servants, should be presently embarked to "take the directest passage to *Ireland*; and order'd "That the "rest, who were to wait upon his Person, should likewise "send their Goods and Baggage, and such Servants who were "not absolutely necessary for their present Service, upon the "same Ships for *Ireland*; declaring, "That, if he made *France* "his way, he would make all possible haste, and go with as "light a train as he could. Hereupon two Ships were shortly after provided, and many Persons (and great store of Baggage) embark'd for *Ireland*, and arriv'd there in safety; but most of the Persons, and all the Goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

THIS Resolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a just excuse from his Age, being then seventy five years old, to wish to be in some repose, consider'd with himself how to become disintangled from the fatigue of those Voyages and Journies, which he saw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to stay, having never lov'd that People, nor been lov'd by them; and he thought the Climate it self was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the Gout, which frequently visited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was look'd upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France*; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believ'd that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *English* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King: and he related

lated many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the Rebels; that "The "King, and all the Court, put themselves into solemn mourn- "ing: (and he repeated some Expressions which the King and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderness and compassion for our King) and that "The King of *Spain* spoke of "sending an Embassadour to his Majesty.

THESE relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottington* took occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict Friendship, they living, and keeping House together) of "The "ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, "what Prince's kindness was like to be of most use and be- "nefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to re- "ceive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might serve for "a Martial Expedition, yet such an annual Exhibition as "might serve for his support: that he had already experience "of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardi- "nal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily "believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterously treated "with, and not more asked of him than could consist with "his Affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be pro- "cured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the "King's sending an Embassadour thither. He said, "He was "more of that opinion since the King had taken the resolu- "tion of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain's* credit "might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neil*, and "the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, were still in Arms against the King; "and would not submit to the conditions which the general "Council of the Confederate Catholicks had consented to "with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that *O Neil* had been bred "in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and so must have "an absolute dependence upon his Catholick Majesty, for "whom all the old *Irish* had ever had a particular devotion; "and if it were only to dispose Him and that People to the "King's obedience, and to accept those conditions which "might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth "such a Journey; and the King of *Spain* would never refuse "to gratify the King to the utmost that could be desir'd in "that particular. The Chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him "Who would be fit to be sent "thither? not imagining that he had any thought of going thither Himself? He answer'd, "That, if the King would be "advised by him, he should send them Two thither, and he "did believe they should do him very good Service.

Conference between the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the King's sending an Embassy into Spain.

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THE Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the buſineſs, which, having no reſpect but towards deſpair, was yet render'd more grievous by the continual Contentions and Animoſities between Perſons. He knew he was not in the Queens favour at all, and ſhould find no reſpect in that Court. However, he was very ſcrupulous, that the King might not ſuſpect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body elſe might believe that he withdrew himſelf from waiting longer upon ſo deſperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottington* "That he would only "be paſſive in the point, and refer it entirely to Him, if he "thought fit to diſpoſe the King to like it; and if the King "approv'd it ſo much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, "and commend it as a thing he thought for his Service, he "would ſubmit to his Command.

THE Lord *Cottington*'s Heart was much ſet upon this imployment, and he managed ſo warily with the King, and preſented the whole Scheme to him ſo dexterouſly, that his Majeſty was much pleaſed with it; and ſhortly after declared his Reſolution publickly, "To ſend the Lord *Cottington*, "and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Embaſſadours Extraordinary into *Spain*; and Commanded them "To prepare "their own Commiſſion, and Inſtructions; and to begin their "Journey aſſoon as was poſſible.

The King declares thoſe Two to be his Embaſſadours.

BEFORE the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary, upon the whole proſpect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his Buſineſs into as good a method as he could, and to diſpoſe of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Perſons, who had preſented themſelves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the beſt courſe they could for their own Subſiſtence. Of theſe, many were ſent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "To put them "into his Army till the King came thither. Since the *Scots* were no better diſpoſed to ſerve, or receive the King for the preſent, his Majeſty was reſolv'd to give the Marquis of *Montroſe* all the Encouragement he deſired to viſit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

THERE was then at the *Hague*, *Cornificius Wolfelte*, Embaſſadour extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himſelf a Man of vanity and oſtentation, and took pains to be thought ſo great a Man by his own Intereſt, that he did not enough extol the power of his Maſter; which prov'd his ruin after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the

News

News came thither of the Murder of the King, and so he had no Credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any publick formal Audience; but desired "The "King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to "speak to him at the Queen of *Bohemia*'s Court; where his Majesty used to be every day; and there the Embassadour often spoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountrose* had found means to endear himself much to this Embassadour, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain Arms and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Embassadour told him, "That, if the King would write "a Letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply "him with some Money and Arms, in assurance that his Ma-"ster would very well approve of what he should do. The Marquis of *Mountrose* well knew, that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "That the "King would give him Letters, in the form he prescribed, to "several Princes in *Germany*, whose affections he pretended "to know; which Letters he sent by several Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Arms they should obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburg*; and resolv'd himself to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scotish* Officers, who had Command and Estates in those Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of which he might appear Embassadour extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any publick Character. All this was resolv'd before his confidence, at least his familiarity with the Embassadour, was grown less. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he mov'd the King "For his Letter to the Embassadour, to "assist the Marquis of *Mountrose* with his Advice, and with "his Interest in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the end "that he might obtain the Loan of Monies, Arms, and Am-"munition, and whatever else was necessary to enable the "Marquis to prosecute his intended Descent into *Scotland*." The King, glad that he did not press for ready Money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such Letters as he desired to all Persons, and particularly to the Embassadour himself, who, having order from his Master to present the King with a Sum of Money for his present occasions, never inform'd the King thereof, but advised *Mountrose* to procure such a Letter from his Majesty to him; which being done, the

Marquis

Marquis receiv'd that Money from him, and likewise some Arms; with which he begun his unfortunate Enterprise; and prosecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believ'd the Officers he had sent thither with the King's Letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had receiv'd from some propheeies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "That he should by his valour recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army that should settle his Majesty in all his other Dominions.

The Marquis of Montrose goes to Hamburg.

THERE had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* since the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a Consternation, that still possessed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Detestation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believ'd possible for any Man to contribute any thing, at present, for their Deliverance. However most Men were of opinion, "That it was necessary for the King to publish some "Declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over "his claim there; and to keep up the Spirits of his Friends. And many from *England*, who in the midst of their despair would give some Counsel, advised, "That there might be "somewhat published by the King that might give some "Check to the general submitting to the *Engagement*, which "was so universally pressed there. The King being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the *Scotish* Lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majesty propos'd at the Council "That there "might be some draught prepar'd of a Proclamation, or De-"claration, only with reference to the Kingdom of *England*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been most conversant in Instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "That he did not "know what such a Declaration could contain, and therefore "that he thought it not seasonable to publish any. The Prince of *Orange* was present at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggestion of the *Scotish* Lords, who were much favour'd by him, he wish'd, "That, "in regard of the great differences which were in *England* "about matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this

The Chancellor of the Exchequer appointed to make a Declaration relating to England.

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"Declaration, to refer all matters in controverſy concerning "Religion to a National Synod; in which there ſhould be ad- "mitted ſome Forreign Divines from the Proteſtant Churches; which he thought, would be a Popular Clauſe, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believ'd no objection could be made againſt it; and ſo thought fit ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be inſerted.

WITHIN a ſhort time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* ſent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him "He was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the "Exchequer, but deſir'd him to entreat him not to be too "ſharp in this Declaration, the end whereof was to Unite, "and Reconcile different Humours; and that he found many "had a great apprehenſion, that the ſharpneſs of His Style "would irritate them much more. The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lautherdale*, and he wiſhed heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body elſe, proteſting, "That he was never leſs diſpoſed "in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any "ſuch Task in his Life; and that he could not imagine how "it was poſſible for the King to publiſh a Declaration at that "time, (his firſt Declaration) without much ſharpneſs againſt "the Murtherers of his Father; which no Body could ſpeak againſt; nor could he be excuſed from the Work impoſed upon him: and the Prince of *Orange* aſſured him, "It was "not That kind of ſharpneſs which he wiſh'd ſhould be de- "clined: and though he ſeem'd not willing farther to explain himſelf, it was evident, that he wiſh'd that there might not be any ſharpneſs againſt the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occaſion.

THERE was one particular, which, without a full and diſtinct Inſtruction, the Chancellor could not preſume to expreſs. The great end of this Declaration was to confirm the Affection of as many as was poſſible for the King, and, conſequently, as few were to be made deſperate, as might conſiſt with the King's Honour, and neceſſary Juſtice, ſo that how far that Clauſe, which was eſſential to a Declaration upon this ſubject, concerning the Indemnity of Perſons, ſhould extend, was the queſtion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the moſt prevalent was, "That no Perſons ſhould "be excepted from Pardon, but only ſuch who had an im- "mediate hand in the execrable Murther of the King, by "being his Judges, and pronouncing that Sentence, and they "who perform'd the Execution. Others ſaid, they "Knew "that ſome were in the Liſt of the Judges, and named by "the Parliament, who found Excuſes to be abſent; and others

that "Some who were not named, more contriv'd and con-"tributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the Actors "in it. But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every Man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, in regard he was not a perfect Master of the *English* Tongue, desir'd he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desir'd, "That not only the Prince of *Orange* might have "a Copy, but that his Majesty would likewise have one, "and, after he should have perused it himself, he would shew "it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with; there being many Lords and other Persons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he moy'd, "That he "might have liberty himself to Communicate it to some who "were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that "Nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds "of the People; and named *Herbert* the Atturney General; and Dr *Steward* who was Dean of the Chapel; and his opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advised by his Father to submit to. All which was approv'd by the King, and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two Persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Different opinions in the King's Council about it when it was read.

Doctor *Steward*, though a Man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly griev'd at the Clause of admitting Forreign Divines into a Synod that was to Consult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be satisfied by any Arguments that could be given of "The impossibility of any "effect, or that the Parliament would accept the Overture; "and that there could be no danger if it did, because the "Number of those Forreign Divines must be still limited by "the King; but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendship, and protested "He had not slept "that Night, out of the Agony and Trouble, that He, who "he knew lov'd the Church so well, should consent to a "Clause so much against the Honour of it; and went from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion "That there were too few excepted from "Pardon;

"Pardon; by which the King would not have Confiscations "enough to satisfy, and reward his Party: and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not "prudence to make so many Men desperate; but that it would "be sufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradshaw*, and three or "four more of those whose Malice was most notorious; the "whole Number not to exceed Six.

THE *Scots* did not value the Clause for Forreign Divines, who, they knew, could perswade little in an *English* Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mention'd the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with so much Reverence and Devotion; which was the sharpness they most fear'd of the Chancellor's Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the second time, most Men being mov'd with the discourses, and fears which were expres's'd abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly Debated, and Men seem'd not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceiv'd it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous Condition doth more require than the State that is less perplex'd and intangled. Thus the Declaration slept without farther proposition to publish any. *Upon which it was laid aside.*

ALL things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Embassadours for *Spain* were very sollicitous to begin their Journey, the King being at last resolv'd not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to St *German*'s, where her Majesty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that resolution, had promis'd to supply the King with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his Journey. Out of the Sum the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, were to receive so much as was design'd to defray their Journey to *Paris*: what was necessary for the discharge of their Embassy, or for making their Journey from *Paris*, was not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke of *Lorrain* would lend him some Money; which he design'd for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to *Brussels*, to finish that Negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their Journey.

In the ſolliciting their firſt diſpatch at the *Hague*, they made a diſcovery that ſeem'd very ſtrange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off ſome days, only for the receipt of that ſmall Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*; and *Hemflet* the Prince's chief Officer in ſuch affairs of Money having been ſome days at *Amſterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being return'd, they believ'd that there was ſome affected delay; and ſo went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had adviſ'd, and was well pleas'd with that Embaſſy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewiſe reſolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believ'd, "That They, who knew *London* ſo well, and "had heard ſo much diſcourſe of the wealth of *Holland*, "would wonder very much that he ſhould have been endea-"vouring above ten days to borrow twenty thouſand pounds; "and that the richeſt Men in *Amſterdam* had promiſed him "to ſupply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet "provided. He ſaid, "It was not that there was any que-"ſtion of his credit, which was very good; and that the ſe-"curity he gave, was as good as any Body deſir'd, and upon "which he could have double the Sum in leſs time, if he "would receive it in Paper, which was the Courſe of that "Country; where bargains being made for one hundred thou-"ſand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known "that twenty thouſand pounds were paid together in one "Town; but by Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, "and *Antwerp*, and other places, which was as convenient, "or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe, that "though *Amſterdam* could pay a Million within a Month, "upon any good occaſion, yet they would be troubled to "bring twenty thouſand pounds together into any one Room; "and that was the true reaſon, that the Money was not yet "brought to the *Hague*; which it ſhould be within few days; as it was accordingly.

The Embaſſadours for Spain begin their Journey.

The Embaſſadours took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and tranſported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arriv'd ten days before, and were ſettled in a good and convenient Houſe; where the Lord *Cottington* and He both Lodg'd whilſt they ſtay'd in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyn* in his way towards the King, to haſten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad

glad they were both come away from the King, and believ'd he ſhould more eaſily prevail with his Majeſty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days ſtay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Bruſſels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to viſit the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and, upon their Landing at *Bruſſels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were aſſured "That *le Brune*, who "had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty at *Mun-*"*ſter*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that "Town with Credentials to viſit the King, and to condole "with him. They had an Audience, the next day, of the Arch-Duke: they perform'd the Compliments to him from the King, and inform'd him of their Embaſſy into *Spain*, and deſir'd his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his ſlow, and formal way of ſpeaking, conſented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but receiv'd the viſits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the ſtyle of that Court. Their main buſineſs was with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They viſit the Duke of Lorrain *at* Bruſſels.

THE Duke was a Prince that liv'd in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the World: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retir'd to *Bruſſels* with his Army, which he kept up very ſtrong, and ſerv'd the King of *Spain* with it againſt the *French*, upon ſuch terms, and conditions, as were made, and renew'd every year between them; by which he receiv'd great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniard*, and was ſure very rich in Money. He always commanded apart in the Field, his Officers receiv'd no Orders but from himſelf: He always agreed at the Council of War what he ſhould do, and his Army was in truth the beſt part of the *Spaniſh* Forces. In the Town of *Bruſſels* he liv'd without any order, method, or ſtate of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being preſent in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwiſe, he liv'd in a jolly familiarity with the Burgeois and their Wives, and feaſted with them, but ſcarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The Houſe wherein he liv'd was a very ordinary one, and not furniſh'd; nor was he often there, or eaſy to be found; ſo that the Embaſſadours could not eaſily ſend to him for an Audience. He receiv'd them in a lower Room with great Courteſy and Familiarity; and viſited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great Wit, and preſence of Mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no Man knew better how to act the Prince. He lov'd his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottington*'s dexterity and addreſs, prevail'd with him to lend the

King two thousand Pistols; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in *Spain*, out of which their own necessary Expences must be provided for.

THERE were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were govern'd and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himself could not controul; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munster*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and staid only at *Brussels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilst he staid there, was in the highest Trust of all the Affairs) and the Conde of *Fuensaldagna*, who was the Governour of the Arms, and Commanded the Army next under the Arch-Duke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert Men in business, and if they were not very wise Men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great Wit, and much Experience, Proud, and, if he had not been a little too Pedantick, might very well be look'd upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improv'd by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wise Man, and by seeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, govern'd him. The Conde of *Fuensaldagna* was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuations than *Spaniards* use to have: His greatest Talent lay to Civil business; yet he was the best General of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of battle, when he was not so present and compos'd as at all other seasons.

BOTH these receiv'd the Embassadours with the usual Civilities, and return'd their visits to their own Lodging, but seem'd not pleased with their Journey to *Madrid*, and spoke much of the necessities that Crown was in, and its disability to assist the King; which the Embassadours imputed to the influence *Don Alonzo de Cardenas* had upon them both; who remain'd still under the same Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The same Civilities were perform'd between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encourag'd them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Instructions, "To give the King all assurance of the affection "of his Catholick Majesty, and of his readiness to do any "thing for him that was in his power. He said, "He only "deferr'd his Journey, because he heard that the King intend-"ed to spend some time at *Breda*; and he had rather attend "him There, than at the *Hague*.

WHEN the Embassadours had dispatch'd all their business

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at *Brussels*, and receiv'd the Money from the Duke of *Lorrain*, they return'd to *Antwerp*; where they were to Negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which requir'd very much wariness, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the importunity he used, the King resolv'd to begin his Journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was receiv'd that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into *Ireland*, she was exceedingly displeas'd that any Resolution at all had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the Counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs; all which she imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nevertheless she was not pleas'd with the design of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet she had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King and therefore wish'd he should be still about his Person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a Negotiation, which she believ'd, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

The King removes to Breda.

That the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange* desir'd him, "Whilst his Servants prepar'd what was necessary "at the *Hague*, that Himself, and that part of his Train that "was ready, would go to *Breda*, and stay there till the rest "were ready to come up to him; that being his best way to *Flanders*, through which he must pass into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handsome Palace and Castle, and a place where the King might have many Divertisements. Hither the *Spanish* Embassadour *le Brune*, came to attend his Majesty, and deliver'd his Master's Compliments to his Majesty, and offer'd his own Services to him, whilst he should remain in those Provinces; he being at that time design'd to remain Embassadour to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the *Hague* with a general

regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain* (in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best States-men in Christendom, and who best understood the true Interest of all the Princes of *Europe*.

ASSOON as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to hasten his Journey for *France*, they resolv'd, having in truth not yet Negotiated all things necessary for their Journey, to stay till the King passed by, and not to go to St *Germain's* till the first Interview, and Eclarcisments were passed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

Thence to Antwerp. THE King was receiv'd at *Antwerp* with great Magnificence: He enter'd in a very rich Coach with six Horses, which the Arch-Duke sent a present to him when he came into the *Spanish* Dominions: He was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very splendidly for two days: and went then to *Brussels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertain'd. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Conte de Harcourt*, was two days before set down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the *Spanish* Council was surprised, and in so much disorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilst the King was in *Antwerp*; so that the King was receiv'd only by his Officers; who perform'd their parts very well.

Thence to Brussels.

HERE the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Embassadour, and cover'd. And his Majesty staid here three or four days, not being able suddainly to resolve which way he should pass into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have surprised that Town, and to have cast up their Line of Circumvallation before any Supplies could be put in; but the *Conde Fuensaldagna* found a way to put seven or eight hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French* raised the Siege: and so the King made his Journey by the usual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an Interview with the Arch-Duke; and, after some short Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and lodged at *Cambray*; where he was likewise treated by the *Conde de Garcies*, who was Governour there, and a very civil Gentleman.

The King had an Interview with the Arch-Duke near Valenciennes.

ABOUT a week after the King left *Brussels*, the two Embassadours prosecuted their Journey for *Paris*; where they staid only one day, and then went to St *Germain's*; where the King and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and

and the Duke of *York*'s, then were; by whom they were receiv'd graciously. They had no reason to repent their caution in staying so long behind the King, for they found the Court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every Body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happen'd since their last parting, the Queen begun to confer with the King of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserv'd, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no Apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her Advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "That he would always per-"form his Duty towards her with great affection and exact-"ness, but that in his business he would obey his own rea-"son and judgment; and did as good as desire her not to trouble her self in his Affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retired from her with some abruptness, and seem'd not to desire to be so much in her Company as she expected; and prescribed some new rules to be observ'd in his own retirement, which he had not been accustom'd to.

THIS kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this distance, which the King seem'd to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish; and that there was some Body else, who did her more disservice: insomuch as to the Ladies who were about her, whereof some were very much his Friends, she seem'd to wish, that the Chancellor were come. There was a Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, one Mr *Thomas Elliot*, a Person spoken of before; whom the King's Father had formerly sent into *France*, at the same time that he resolv'd the Prince should go for the West; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his Son. And he had given order, "That if he should return out of *France*, and "come into the West, the Council should not suffer him to be "about the Prince; with whom he thought he had too much "Credit, and would use it ill; and he had never seen the Prince from the time he left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and less for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he look'd upon them as none

Mr Elliot *comes to the King: his influence upon his Majesty.*

none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new Comer, and as one from whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well receiv'd; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the King shew'd him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal Party in *England*: And when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, "That he was much belov'd by, or "very odious to all his Party there. By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Bristol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good Nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, "That he should not serve "him in the place of Secretary of State; in which he had serv'd his Father, and from which Men have seldom been remov'd upon the Descent of the Crown; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, "It would be the most un- "popular thing he could do, and which would lose him more "Hearts in *England* than any other thing, if he were thought "to be govern'd by his Mother. And in a Month's time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be look'd upon as very like to become the Favourite. He had used the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procured a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extreme unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In these kind of humours and indispositions the Embassadours found the Court, when they came to St *Germain's*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, conferr'd with the Earl of *Bristol*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*; who breath'd out their Griefs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr *Elliot*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much Credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to say some-

somewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had passed with his Mother, and the ill humour she was in (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accustom'd to) and his Majesty being very willing to understand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majesty readily granted. And after she had gently expostulated upon the old passages at *Jersey*, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her Husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon rene'd her own gracious professions of good will towards him. Then she complain'd, not without tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr *Elliot* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making *Windham* Secretary; "Who, besides his other unfitness, she said, "Would be sure "to joyn with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her "all they could. The Chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which became him, and said what he really believ'd of the King's kindness and respect for her, ask'd her, "Whether she would give him leave to take "notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that "he found her Majesty unsatisfied with the King's unkind-"ness? The Queen replied, "That she was well contented he "should take notice of every thing She had said; and, above "all of his purpose to make *Windham* Secretary: of which the King had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the Queen had said to him.

A private Audience of the Chancellor with the Queen.

The Chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had passed from the Queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and protested, "That he desir'd nothing more than to live very "well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail "in his Duty, as far as was consistent with his Honour, and "the good of his Affairs; which, at present, it may be, re-"quired more reservation towards the Queen, and to have it "believ'd that he Communicated less with Her than he did, "or than he intended to do: that, if he did not seem to be "desirous of her Company, it was only when she griev'd him "by some Importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; "and that her exception against *Elliot* was very unjust; and

"that

"that he knew well the Man to be very honeſt, and that he "lov'd him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father "had againſt him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, "who hated him without a cauſe, and had likewiſe inform'd "the Queen of ſome falſhoods, which had incenſed her Ma- "jeſty againſt him; and ſeem'd throughout much concern'd to juſtify *Elliot*, againſt whom the Chancellor himſelf had no exceptions, but receiv'd more reſpects from him than he paid to moſt other Men.

WHEN the Chancellor ſpoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promiſed to do it, but "That he intended to do it: The Chancellor ſaid, "He was "glad he had not promiſed it; and that he hoped, he would "never do it: that he was an honeſt Gentleman, but in no "degree qualified for that Office. He put him in mind of Secretary *Nicholas*, who was then there to preſent his Duty to him; "That he was a Perſon of ſuch known affection and "honeſty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than "to paſs Him by. The King ſaid, "He thought Secretary "*Nicholas* to be a very honeſt Man; but he had no title to "that Office more than another Man: that Mr *Windham* had "not any experience in that Employment, but that it de- "pended ſo much upon forms, that he would quickly be in- "ſtructed in it: that he was a very honeſt Man, for whom "he had never done any thing, and had now nothing elſe to "give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in "a ſhort time, he would make himſelf very fit. All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majeſty, was to ſuſpend the doing it for ſome time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Reſolution. For the reſt, he promiſed "To ſpeak upon ſome particulars with the "Queen, and to live with her with all kindneſs and free- "dom that ſhe might be in good humour. But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who ſpoke againſt Mr *Windham's* Parts for being Secretary of State.

ONE day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and ſome others were preſent, told the King very gravely (according to his cuſtom, who never ſmiled when he made others merry) "That he had an humble Suit to him, on the "behalf of an old Servant of his Father's, and whom, he aſ- "ſured him upon his knowledge, his Father lov'd as well as "he did any Man of that condition in *England*; and that he "had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he did "really believe him to be one of the beſt Falconers in *Eng-* "*land*; and thereupon enlarged himſelf (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that Science) to ſhew how very

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skilful he was in that Art. The King asked him, "What he "would have him do for him? *Cottington* told him, "It was "very true that his Majesty kept no Falconers, and the poor "Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had used "to do; but that he was a very honest Man, and could read "very well, and had as audible a voice as any Man need to "have; and therefore besought his Majesty, "That he would "make him his Chaplain; which speaking with so composed a Countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when He, with the same gravity, assured him, "The Falconer was "in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel *Windham* "was to be Secretary of State; which so surprised the King, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was somewhat out of Countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all Companies, and did really divert the King from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

WHILST all endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the King might prosecute his intended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news from *Ireland*. Assoon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was arriv'd, as hath been said before, the Confederate Catholicks, who held their Assembly, as they had always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Commissioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedience to the King. But the inconstancy of that Nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former Peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By this means so much time was spent, that the Winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanc'd against the Parliament Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions continu'd in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King; during

An account of the affairs in Ireland after the Marquis of Ormond's arrival there.

during which the Governours there had work enough to look to themselves; and left *Ireland* to provide for it self: and if that unfortunate People would have made use of the advantages that were offer'd, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to *Kilkenny*, where the Council sate, about *Christmas*, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their Commissioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be lost as well as the Winter. And at last a Peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the Confederate Catholicks oblig'd themselves, "To bring into "the Field, a body of Horse and Foot, with all provisions "for the Field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord "Lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint. The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the same Agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had receiv'd their Commissions, as hath been said, sent to *Owen O Neile*, who remain'd in *Ulster* with his Army, and came not himself to *Kilkenny*, as he had promis'd to have done, upon pretence of his Indisposition of health. He profess'd "To submit to whatsoever the General Assembly "should determine: but when they sent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be sign'd by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and in the end, positively declar'd "That he would not submit, or be bound by them: and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "That he "would treat with him apart, and not concern himself in what "the Assembly resolv'd upon.

THE truth is, there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animosity between the two Generals, *O Neile* and *Preston*, and the bitter Faction between the old *Irish* and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the *English* were; and lastly, from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected some Concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

HEREUPON the Lord Lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the Army might be form'd, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there was

was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their Troops seem'd so good; and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Castles and Garrisons, which were possess'd by the Parliament: in which they had very good Success. For many of the Parliament Soldiers having serv'd the King, they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places Surrender'd likewise to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly serv'd the King, and remain'd, for the space of three or four years, Prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the Lord *Lisle* to serve the Parliament against the *Irish*; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governour of *Dundalk*, a Garrison about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no sooner summon'd (*Tredagh*, and those at a nearer distance, being taken) but he was compell'd by his own Soldiers to deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the Party which Summon'd him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that Garrison betook themselves to the the King's Service.

UPON all these Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perswaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the Garrison, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the *Irish* Troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munster*, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men shipp'd for *Ireland*: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for *Dublin*, there was an apprehension that they might be gone for *Munster*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some Troops of Horse to look after his Province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the Wind coming fair, the Ships expected, came into the Port of *Dublin*; and

The Marquis of Ormond *blocks up* Dublin.

The Lord Inchiquin *departs from him for* Munster.

Recruits land at Dublin *from* England.

and landed a greater number of Soldiers, especially of Horse, than was reported; and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horse and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Arms, and Cloaths, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted the Garrison and the City; which presently turn'd out of the Town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprison'd others. The second day after the arrival of the Succour, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governour of *Dublin*, at Noon-day, march'd out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town; where they found so little resistance that they adventur'd upon the next; and in short so disorder'd the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charg'd the Enemy with the loss of many of those who follow'd him, was at last compell'd to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Post, till both the Troops which he had were refresh'd, and composed, and their Numbers encreased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

Jones sallies out of Dublin, and beats the Marquis of Ormond's Army.

It may be remember'd, that the general Insurrections in the last Year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturb'd and obstructed the Councils both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in all that Year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the sending over the Lord *Lisle* as Lieutenant, with a Commission that was determin'd at the end of so many Months, and which had given so little relief to the *English*, that it only discover'd more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the *Irish* in making their progress in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirm'd the Lord *Inchiquin*, to pursue his Resolution of serving the King, and receiving the Marquis of *Ormond*, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the *Irish*; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loss of *Ireland*, that the noise thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his own Person, to appear upon a Stage of so great Action. There had been always Men enough to be spar'd out of the Army to have been sent upon that Expedition, when

Cromwell made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

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the other difficulties were at higheſt; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power ſhould be ſuperior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had ſet up and deſign'd *Waller* for that Command; and *Cromwell*, againſt Him and that Party, had inſiſted, that it ſhould be given to *Lambert*, the ſecond Man of the Army, who was known to have as great a deteſtation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown: and the Conteſts between the two Factions, which of theſe ſhould be ſent, had ſpent a great part of the laſt year, and of their Winter Counſels. But now, when all the Domeſtick differences were compos'd by their ſucceſſes in the field, and the bloody proſecution of their civil Counſels, ſo that there could be little done to the diſturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Waller's* Friends were ſo ſuppreſs'd, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with ſuch an Army as was neceſſary to be ſent thither, was too great a Truſt even for his beloved *Lambert* himſelf, and was to leſſen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was commanded by *Fairfax*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occaſion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilſt there appear'd no other obſtructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly call'd for) than the determining who ſhould take that Charge, ſome of his Friends, who were always ready upon ſuch occaſions, on a ſuddain propos'd *Cromwell* Himſelf the Lieutenant General, to conduct that Expedition.

CROMWELL himſelf was always abſent when ſuch Overtures were to be made; and whoever had propos'd *Lambert*, had propos'd it as a thing moſt agreeable to *Cromwell's* deſire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himſelf propoſed for the ſervice, and by thoſe who they were ſure intended him no affront, they immediately acquieſced in the Propoſition, and look'd upon the change as a good expedient: on the other ſide, the Presbyterian party was no leſs affected, and concluded that it was only a trick to defer the ſervice, and that he never did intend to go thither in Perſon; or that if he did, his abſence from *England* would give them all the advantages they could wiſh, and that they ſhould then recover entirely their General *Fairfax* to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declar'd ſome bitterneſs againſt the Perſons who had led him to it. And ſo in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* elected and declar'd to be Lord Lieute-

nant of *Ireland*, with as ample, and independent a Commission, as could be prepar'd.

CROMWELL, how little surprised soever with this designation, appear'd the next day in the House full of confusion, and irresolution; which the natural temper, and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of "His own unworthiness, and disability to support "so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself "to Their Commands, and absolute dependence upon God's "providence and blessing, from whom he had receiv'd many "Instances of his Favour, he submitted to their good will and "pleasure; and desir'd them "That no more time might be lost "in the preparations which were to be made for so great a "Work; for he did confess that Kingdom to be reduced to "so great streights, that he was willing to engage his own "Person in this expedition, for the difficulties which ap-"pear'd in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his "life, to give some obstructions to the successes which the Re-"bels were at present exalted with (for so he call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who joyn'd with him) "That so the Com-"mon-Wealth might retain still some footing in that King-"dom, till they might be able to send fresh Supplies, than out "of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he "should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them.

He provides forces for his going thither.

IT was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that Charge, in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand Foot and Horse to *Milford* Haven, to be Transported, assoon as they arriv'd there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Transportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were constrain'd to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a descent in *Munster*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he march'd towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have march'd thither with that expedition, until his Army should be grown more numerous, and more accustom'd to discipline, but the wonderful successes of those Troops, which were sent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out Garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to lose any more time,

time, since he was sure that the crosness of the Wind only hinder'd the arrival of those Supplies, which were design'd thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governour thereof to make that Sally which is mention'd before; and had that Success which is mention'd.

THE Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford* Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he deferr'd not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arriv'd at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was receiv'd with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his Army, both of Soldiers, and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sr *Arthur Aston*, who hath been often mention'd before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of *Cromwell*, for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made less doubt, in much less time to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

Cromwell arrives at Dublin.

THIS News coming to St *Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King begun his journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should

This News delays the King's Voyage into Ireland.

venture to Sea whilſt the Parliament Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coaſt of *Ireland*; but that he ſhould expect the Autumn, when the Seaſon of the year would call home, or diſperſe the Ships. But were to ſtay ſo long was the Queſtion; for it was now the Month of *Auguſt*, and as the King had receiv'd no kind of civility from *France*, ſince his laſt coming, ſo it was notorious enough that his abſence was impatiently deſir'd by that Court; and the Queen, who found her ſelf diſappointed of that Dominion which ſhe had expected, reſolv'd to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Gueſt that was ſo unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and ſo was not at all ſollicitous for his longer ſtay. So his Majeſty conſider'd how he ſhould make his departure; and, upon looking round, he reſolv'd, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himſelf for his Iſland of *Jerſey*; which ſtill continued under his obedience, and under the Government of Sr *George Carteret*, who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in thoſe ſtreights the King was in, and the great plenty he himſelf enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would leſſen ſome of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilſt he ſhould ſtay there, neceſſary to ſell ſome of the King's Demeſnes in that Iſland, the yearly rent whereof uſed to be receiv'd by that Lord towards the diſcharge of the Garriſon there, he inſiſted, with all poſſible importunity, "That ſome of the Money "which ſhould be raiſed upon that Sale, ſhould be paid to "Him, becauſe his receipt, for the time to come, would not "remain ſo great as it had been formerly: and though this demand appear'd ſo unjuſt, and unreaſonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him ſuch a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majeſty into *England*, upon that conſideration. This Reſolution being taken for *Jerſey*, the King ſent to the Prince of *Orange*, "That he would cauſe two Ships of War to ride in "the rode before St *Maloes* (which they might do without notice) "and that he might have a Warrant remain in his "hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majeſty, when "he ſhould require them; which they might do in very few hours; and in theſe he meant to Tranſport himſelf, aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable, into *Ireland*. Theſe Ships did wait his pleaſure there accordingly.

FRANCE had too good an excuſe at this time for not giving

giving the King any assistance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raised in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeased by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condè* (who brought the Army which he commanded in *Flanders*, with so great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continued still in ill humour; more of the great Men adher'd to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condè*, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquility, as to concern it self much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

The Affairs of France whilst the King was at Paris.

ALL things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, the King left St *Germain*'s, and begun his Journey towards *Jersey*; and the Queen, the next day, remov'd from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Embassadours for *Spain* waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a Pass to meet them at St *Sebastian*'s, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who liv'd there, to sollicite, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

The King leaves St Germain's and goes towards Jersey.

THEY thought it convenient, since they were to desire a Pass to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condè*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condè* spoke so publickly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

IN this so general disorder, the Embassadours declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen Regent, who receiv'd him graciously, and desired him "To

"recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of "*Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing elſe. From Her he went to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more diſorder; and when the Embaſſadour told him, "He came to "know whether he had any Service to command him into "*Spain*, the Duke, who ſcarce ſtood ſtill whilſt he was ſpeaking anſwer'd aloud, "That he had nothing to do with *Spain*; and ſo went haſtily into another Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condè*, and to the Cardinal. But when they ſent to the Prince, he wiſely, but with great Civility, ſent them word, "That they could not be ignorant of "the diſorder that Court was in, and of the jealouſies which "were of him; and therefore deſired them "To excuſe him, "that he did not ſee them.

THE Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferr'd together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* ſpeaking *Spaniſh*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholly in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledg'd the apprehenſion he was in, in his looks; and took occaſion in his diſcourſe to mention "The unjuſt diſpleaſure "which Monſieur *le Prince* had conceiv'd againſt him. He ſeem'd earneſtly to deſire a Peace between the two Crowns; and ſaid, "That he would give a pound of his Blood to ob-"tain it; and deſir'd the Embaſſadours "To tell *Don Lewis* "*de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet "him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if "they two were together but three hours, they ſhould com-"poſe all differences: which Meſſage he afterwards diſavow'd, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in diſorder enough, his Guards being very circumſpect, and ſuffering no ſtranger to approach any of the Rooms.

The Lord Cottington and the Chancellor begin their Journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux.

THEY begun their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas* day, and continu'd it, without reſting one day, till they came to *Bourdeaux*; which was then in Rebellion againſt the King. The City and the Parliament had not only ſent ſeveral complaints, and bitter invectives againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, their Governour, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had preſum'd, in order to make his Perſon the more ungracious, to aſperſe his life and manners with thoſe reproaches which they believ'd would moſt reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greateſt Quarrel againſt him was, that he was a faſt Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Intereſt. They had driven the Duke

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out of the Town, and did not only desire the King "That "he might no more be their Governour; but that his Ma- "jesty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condè*; which made their complaints the less consider'd as just. And it was then one of the most avow'd exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bourdeaux*, since he offer'd to resign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Espernon*. At *Blay*, the Embassadours were visited by the Marshal of *Plessy Prasslin*, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisted upon the remove of their old Governour, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bourdeaux* they found the *Château Trompette*, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invested it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Espernon* being at his House at *Cadilliac*, from whence his Horse every day infested the Citizens when they stirr'd out of the Town. Here the Embassadours were compell'd to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who profess'd duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Espernon*; against whom they had publish'd several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condè*. After a days rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arriv'd, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taio*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arriv'd at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Passage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were row'd by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from St *Sebastian's* to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governour of *Guipuscoa*, *Don Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magistrates of St *Sebastian's*, and the *English* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were conducted by the Governour to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governour, and the rest of the Magistrates took their leave of them.

THEY had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *English* Merchants, about conveniencies to

profecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and defired to ſpeak with them in private, and after ſome compliment and apology, he ſhew'd them a Letter, which he had receiv'd from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "That when the Embaſſadours of the Prince "of *Wales* ſhould arrive there, they ſhould be receiv'd with "all reſpect; but that he ſhould find ſome means to perſwade "them to ſtay and remain there, till he ſhould give the "King notice of it, and receive his farther pleaſure. And at the ſame time an *Engliſh* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Pacquet from Sr *Benjamin Wright*; who was intruſted by them to ſollicite at *Madrid* for their Paſs, and for a Houſe to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Paſs was incloſed, under the ſame Style, as Embaſſadours from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had obſerv'd upon the place, and deſir'd to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a Houſe for them; but was told, "That it ſhould be done time enough. This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they ſeem'd not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to ſtay there a Month, to refreſh themſelves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Maſter. The *Corregidor* offer'd to ſend away an Expreſs the ſame Night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, "That the King their Maſter had ſent them his Embaſſadours "to his Catholick Majeſty, upon Affairs of the higheſt Im- "portance: that they were come ſo far on their way, but "had, to their great wonder, met there with a ſignification "of that King's pleaſure, that they ſhould ſtay and remain "there, till they ſhould receive his Majeſty's farther Orders; "which troubled them not ſo much, as to find themſelves "ſtyled the Embaſſadours of the Prince of *Wales*, which they "thought very ſtrange, after his Catholick Majeſty had ſent "an Embaſſadour to the King their Maſter before they left "him: they deſired therefore to know, whether their Per- "ſons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majeſty, and if "that were the Caſe, they would immediately return to their "Maſter; otherwiſe, if his Majeſty were content to receive "them, they deſir'd they might be treated in that manner as "was due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Ma- "ſter. And they writ to Sr *Benjamin Wright*, to attend "*Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at "*Madrid*, and that they reform'd the Errors they had com- "mitted, he ſhould then uſe thoſe importunities, which were "neceſſary

"neceſſary for the providing a Houſe for them againſt they "ſhould come.

THOUGH the Court was then full of buſineſs; being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days Journey of *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was deliver'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he return'd an Anſwer full of Civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and ſent them new Paſſes in the proper Style; and aſſured them, "That they ſhould find a very "good welcome from his Majeſty. And Sr *Benjamin Wright* ſent them word, "That he had receiv'd the Warrant for the "providing the Houſe; and the Officer, to whom it was di-"rected, had called upon him to view two or three Houſes; "and that *Don Lewis* told him, that aſſoon as he had found "a Houſe that pleaſed him, Orders ſhould be given to the "King's Officers of the Wardrobe to furniſh it; and then "when the Embaſſadours came, there ſhould be one of the "King's Coaches to attend them whilſt they ſtaid. Here-upon they made haſte in their Journey, with ſome ſatisfaction and confidence that they ſhould find a Court not ſo hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with ſo bare faced and form'd an Affront, and then ſo eaſily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wiſh'd that they had not come; and imagin'd that this might put them to return again, and then were aſhamed of their own Expedient, and being preſſed, choſe rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing it is for that Court to ſtoop to any ugly Action, without doing it ſo ungraciouſly, as to confeſs it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

Their Paſſes are ſent to them.

IT was about the middle of *November* when they left St *Sebaſtian*'s, the Weather yet continuing fair; and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the juriſdiction of *Guipuſcoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they enter'd into *Caſtile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they ſent to Sr *Benjamin Wright* to know what Houſe was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, "All things were in the ſame ſtate they were when he writ "to them to St *Sebaſtian*'s; that though *Don Lewis* gave him "very good words, and ſeem'd much troubled and angry "with the Officers that the Houſe was not ready, and the "Officers excuſed themſelves upon the jollities the Town "was in during the *Fieſtas*, which were held every day for "the Queen's Arrival, that no body could attend any particu-

"lar

"lar affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken "from the Court that there ought to have been, and that "*Don Alonzo de Cardinas* from *England* had done the Em- "baſſadours all the ill offices poſſible, as if their good recep- "tion in *Spain* would incenſe the Parliament, and make them "more propitious to *France*, which valued it ſelf upon having "driven all the Royal Family from thence.

UPON this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to deſire "That they might not be put to ſtay "there for want of a Houſe, and ſo be expoſed to contempt. Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Anſwer'd their Letters with great punctuality, and with courteſy enough, as if all things ſhould be ready by the next day. The *Engliſh* Merchants, who reſided at *Madrid*, came every day to viſit them, but ſtill brought them word, that there was no appearance of any proviſion made to receive them; ſo that after a weeks ſtay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which Sr *Benjamin Wright* made them, of repoſing themſelves *incognito* in his Houſe; which would only receive their Perſons with a *Valet de Chambre* for each; and the reſt of their Family was quarter'd in the next adjacent Houſes for the reception of Strangers; ſo they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in Sr *Benjamin Wright*'s Coach, and came to his Houſe: and if, by His generoſity, they had not been thus accommodated, they muſt have been expoſed to reproach and infamy, by the very little reſpect they receiv'd from the Court. This Sr *Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Eſſex*; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great buſineſs, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect *Spaniard* not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Cuſtoms.

They go into Madrid incognito; and lodge at firſt at Sir Benjamin Wright's *Houſe.*

THE Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottington* therefore ſent to *Don Lewis*, to deſire that he might have a private Audience of him *incognito*; which he preſently conſented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at ſuch a diſtance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and uſed no flouriſhes in his diſcourſes, which made moſt Men believe that he ſaid all things from his heart; and he ſeem'd to ſpeak ſo cordially that the Lord *Cottington*, who was not eaſy to be impoſed upon, did think that they ſhould have a Houſe very ſpeedily, and

and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He ſpoke with more commotion then was natural to him, in the buſineſs of the Murther of the King; excuſed all the omiſſions towards the Embaſſadours; "Which "ſhould be repair'd out of hand, after the few days, which "yet remain'd to be ſpent in *Fieſtas* for the Queen; during "which time, he ſaid, no Officers would obey any orders that "diverted them from the ſight of the Triumphs; and wiſh'd "that the Embaſſadours would ſee the Maſquerade that After-"noon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

THE Lord *Cottington* return'd home very well ſatisfied; and had not been half an hour in the Houſe, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Embaſſadours to ſee thoſe Exerciſes, which were mention'd before; and ſent them word that there ſhould be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place aſſign'd, where he ſaw the Maſquerade, and the running of the Courſe, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

AT the running of the Courſe, the King and *Don Lewis* run ſeveral Courſes, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always loſt it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich ſhew, otherwiſe the ſhew it ſelf had nothing wonderful. Here there happen'd to be ſome ſuddain ſharp words between the *Admirante* of *Caſtile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis *de Liche*, the eldeſt Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both diſmiſſed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

AT the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to ſhew the diſcipline, and ſeverity of that Nation in the obſervation of order. It was remember'd, that at the Maſquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Liche* were ſent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examin'd, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a Houſe of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. The Marquis of *Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the ſame of the *Admirante*, thoſe orders being never diſputed or diſobey'd. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himſelf diſcern'd at another Balcony, or ſome Body elſe advertiſed him of it, that the Ducheſs, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and ſaid, "He knew that Lady was a Woman of more "Honour than to come out of her Houſe, and be preſent at "the

"the *Fieſta*, whilſt her Husband was under reſtraint, and in "his Majeſty's diſpleaſure; and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewiſe there; and thereupon ſent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appear'd none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young raſh Man, much in the King's favour, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiſcern'd ſee the Triumph of that day; and therefore cauſed himſelf to be dreſs'd in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly reſiſted his Commands, well knowing to what reproach ſhe expoſed her own honour, though ſhe had no fear of his being diſcover'd. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very ſure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and ſat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King ſent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's own Houſe. And aſſoon as the King return'd to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* ſhould the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid* to a Houſe of his own there; where he was confin'd not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this reſtraint remain'd for the ſpace of full three years: So penal a thing it is amongſt that People, for any Man, of how great Quality ſoever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Caſtile*) to diſobey, or elude the judgment of the King.

The King remains ſeveral months in Jerſey.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digreſſion upon this Embaſſy, and to enlarge upon many circumſtances which occurr'd in it, of the formality and conſtitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that People, which may ſeem forreign to the affairs of *England*. But ſince the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remain'd in *Jerſey* for many Months, waiting ſuch a revolution as might adminiſter an opportunity and occaſion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no Action, or Counſel to be mention'd, and this being the firſt, and the only Embaſſy, in which his Majeſty's Perſon was repreſented, until his bleſſed return into *England* (for though ſome other Perſons were afterwards ſent to other Princes, with Commiſſions to perform that function, if they found Encouragement ſo to do, yet none aſſum'd that Character, nor were treated as ſuch in any Court in Chriſtendom, *Spain* only excepted) it may therefore be reaſonably thought not improper in this Hiſtory, to give ſuch a relation of this Negotiation, that

that it may appear what ſenſe ſo great a Court as that of *Spain* had of thoſe Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable Condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully preſſed to them in the moſt efficatious terms poſſible; and every circumſtance of their Reception, and Treatment, may ſerve to illuſtrate thoſe particulars; and therefore we ſhall proceed farther in the relation of them.

An account of the Embaſſadour's Audience.

BEFORE their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent them word of the Impriſonment of the Prince of *Condè*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that Marſhal *Turin* had made his Eſcape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spaniſh* Court much trouble; for they had promiſed themſelves a better Harveſt from that Seed, which they had carefully and induſtriouſly Sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally ſuppreſſed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not leſs deſir'd in *France* than in *Spain*; or that thoſe Princes, and all their Dependents, would have appear'd in Arms in that Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* ſhould be able to recover much of what they had loſt in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appear'd now blaſted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

UPON the day aſſign'd for the Audience, it being reſolv'd that when they had ended with the King, they ſhould likewiſe have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent Horſes to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Embaſſadours and their Servants: it being the faſhion of that Court, that the Embaſſadours ride to their firſt Audience. And ſo they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *Engliſh* Merchants who liv'd in the Town, together with many *Iriſh* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, all on Horſeback; ſo that their Cavalcade appear'd very fair, all the Coaches of other Embaſſadours likewiſe following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being Conducted by an Officer, who had been ſent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

THROUGH ſeveral Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and ſhut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majeſty was; where, after a little ſtay, whilſt their Conductor went in and out, they found the King ſtanding upright, with his back againſt the Wall, and the Grandees at a diſtance, in the ſame poſture, againſt the Wall. When they had made their ſeveral reſpects,

and

and came to the King, he lightly mov'd his Hat, and bid them cover: The Lord *Cottington* ſpoke only general things, "Of "the confidence the King had in his Majeſty's kindneſs, and "that He believ'd his condition ſuch, as that all the Kings of "the World were concern'd to vindicate the wrong He ſu- "ſtain'd: That this was the firſt Embaſſy he had ſent, relying "more upon the Honour of his Majeſty's Nature and Genero- "ſity, than upon any other Prince; with diſcourſes of the ſame nature: Then they preſented their Credentials.

THE King expreſſed a very tender ſenſe of our King's condition, and acknowledged, "That it concern'd all Kings to "joyn together for the puniſhment of ſuch an Impious Rebel- "lion and Parricide; and if his own Affairs would permit "it, he would be the firſt that would undertake it; but that "they could not but know how full his Hands were; and "whilſt he had ſo powerful an Adverſary to contend with, "he could hardly defend himſelf; but that when there ſhould "be a Peace with *France* (which he deſired) "the King, his "*Sobrino* (for ſo he ſtill call'd the King, his Nephew) "ſhould "find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he "would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his "aſſiſtance and relief. After the formal part was over, the King asked many Queſtions, moſt with reference to his Siſter, the Queen of *France*; and diſcourſed very intelligently of every thing; ſo that his defects proceeded only from the lazi- neſs of his mind, not from any want of underſtanding; and he ſeem'd then, when he was about eight and forty years of Age, to have great vigour of Body, having a clear ruddy Complection; yet he had been accuſtom'd to Fevers from his Debauches with Women, by which he was much waſted.

FROM the King they were Conducted to the Queen; who uſed very few words, and ſpoke ſo low that ſhe could ſcarce be heard; ſhe ſtood, in the ſame manner the King did, againſt a Wall, and her Ladies on both ſides as the Grandees did; the *Infanta* at a little diſtance from her, to whom likewiſe they made a Compliment from their Maſter. The Queen was then about eighteen years of Age, not Tall, round Faced, and inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much Lower, as ſhe ought to be by her Age, but of a very lovely Complection, without any help of Art, which every one elſe in the Room, even the Queen her ſelf, was beholding to: and ſhe was then the full- leſt of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which ſhe had not improv'd afterwards, when ſhe had more years upon her.

They have an Houſe aſſign'd them. Their Audience ended, they return'd; and at laſt they had a Houſe provided for them in the *Calle de Alcala*, belonging to the

the Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year.

THE Council of State at this time consisted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke *de Medina de los Torres*, Duke *de Mounterey*, Marquis of *Castille Roderigo*, Marquis *de Vall-Periso*, the *Conde* of *Castrilio*, and *Don Francisco de Melo*; there were no more residing in that Court then; the Duke *de Medina Celi* residing constantly at his Government of St *Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganez* being General against *Portugal*, and so remaining at *Badajoz*, and coming seldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *Arcos* stood confin'd to his House, since the defection of *Naples* when it was under his Government; and the *Conde de Pignoranda* was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

The Character of Don Lewis de Haro.

DON *Lewis* was as absolute a Favorite in the Eyes of his Master, had as entire a disposal of all his Affections and Faculties, as any Favourite of that Age: Nor was any thing transacted at home, or abroad, but by his direction and determination: And yet of all the Favourites of that, or any other time, no Man ever did so little alone, or seem'd less to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, requir'd little Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedition, he would give no Order without formal Consultation with the rest of the Council; which hinder'd dispatch, and made his Parts the more suspected. He was Son of the Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Sister of *Olivarez*, and had been put about the Person of the King, being about the same Age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his Affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of Favourite in many years, nor seem'd to be concern'd in any business till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a great kindness for his Person, than by the Ambition of his own Nature, or any delight in business. His Education had not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not sharp, yet his Industry was great, and the more commendable, because his Nature had some repugnancy to it, and his Experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all Subjects. He was of a Melancholick Complection; which it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seem'd to be a very honest, and well natur'd Man, and did very rarely manifest his power in Acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness; which made him grateful

grateful to most particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the *French* Cardinals, the last of which was Favourite during his Administration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behind him much improv'd by his own industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the time they were under his Government, than at any time before; and the less was done with the consumption of so much Money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise consider'd, that he enter'd upon that Administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of *Portugal*, and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary States-man to have repair'd, and make it flourish as before.

Of the Conde *of* Pignoranda.

THE Embassadours had not been long at *Madrid*, when the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* return'd thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Munster*. He had been declar'd to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it soon as he return'd. He was *Conde* in the right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred in the study of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man of business, and so imploy'd in matters of greatest Trust. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, and understood the Affairs of the World better than most in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retain'd too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. Soon as he return'd, according to the method of that Court upon great and successful Employments, the Presidentship *De los Ordines*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferr'd upon him. The Embassadours found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Brussels*, which was throughly infected by *Don Alonzo*. The truth is, *Don Alonzo*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into *England*, and liked well his Imployment, and residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore

fore when the Embaſſadours, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and deſir'd, "That he "would appoint Commiſſioners, with whom they might "treat about the renewing the Alliance between the two "Crowns, which had been provided for by the laſt Treaty "to be renew'd within ſo many Months after the death of "either King, and with whom they might likewiſe confer "upon ſuch relief in Arms, and Money, as his Catholick "Majeſty would think proper to ſend to their Maſter into "*Ireland* (whither one of the Embaſſadours deſired to haſten his Journey aſſoon as might be; and in that Memorial, which they then deliver'd to his Catholick Majeſty, they had deſired likewiſe "That he would write to *Owen O Neile* "to diſpoſe him to ſubmit to the King) they receiv'd ſhortly after an Anſwer, ſent to them by *Don Franciſco de Melo*, who told them, "That the King had ſent him to them, to confer "with them upon the ſubſtance of their laſt Memorial. He "ſaid, the King did not think it neceſſary to appoint any "Committee to renew the laſt Treaty of Peace; which was "ſtill in force, and might well be obſerv'd between the two "Nations; and that the renewing might be deferr'd till the "times ſhould mend; implying very little leſs than that when the King ſhould be in *England*, it would be a fit time to renew their Alliance. He ſaid, "He was ready to receive "any Propoſitions from them, wherein they might more "particularly ſet down their deſires, if they were ready to de- "part; and for writing to *Owen O Neile* (whom he called *Don Eugenio*) "He had ſo misbehaved himſelf towards his "Catholick Majeſty, by leaving his Service in *Flanders*, and "tranſporting himſelf into *Ireland* without his Licenſe, that "his Majeſty could not in Honour write to him; but that "he would take ſuch care, that he ſhould know it would be "agreeable to his Majeſty's good liking, that he betook him- "ſelf to the Service of the King of Great *Britain* without "reſerve; which he did believe would diſpoſe him to it: which Method the Embaſſadours conceiv'd was propoſed, becauſe they ſhould believe that the *Spaniard* had no hand in ſending him into that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there; whereas at the ſame time *Don Diego de la Torre* was with the *Iriſh* as Reſident or Envoy from *Spain*.

The Embaſſadours private Audience and Demands.

The Anſwer they receive.

THIS Anſwer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avow'd Friendſhip of that Crown, though they ſtill thought they might be able to obtain ſome little favour in private, as Arms and Ammunition, and a ſmall ſupply of Money for the King's Subſiſtence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was design'd by the King to attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he was arriv'd there; till when, he could not present his Memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they rested for some time without giving the Court any farther trouble by Audiences.

Prince Rupert comes upon the coast of Spain.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expectation to hear from the King their Master, who yet remain'd at *Jersey*, by which they might take their own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "That he had brought away all the Fleet from "*Ireland*, and that he had receiv'd an Assurance from *Portu-*"*gal*, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which "he was resolv'd, after he had attended some days to meet "with any *English* Ships that might be prize, to go for *Lis-*"*bon*; and desir'd him to procure Orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the Ports of "*Spain*, if his occasions brought him thither. The Embassadours sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who receiv'd them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the Coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the People, and the Court receiv'd the news of it with disorder enough. All that the Embassadours asked, was granted without hesitation; and Letters were dispatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Embassadours) by several Expresses, to all the Governours of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire: so great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Embassadours found they liv'd in another kind of Air than they had done, and receiv'd every day Visits and Caresses from the Court, and from those in Authority.

His Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

BUT

BUT the Government of these benign Stars was very short: Within few days after, they receiv'd News, "That the Prince "with the gross of his Fleet, was gone into the River of "*Lisbon*, and that a Squadron of four or five Ships, under "the Command of Captain *Allen*, being sever'd from the "Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Carta-* "*gena*; where the People of the Country had treated them "very rudely, and seised both upon the Ships, and Persons of "the Men, and the Storm continuing had wrecked two or "three of their Vessels in the Road, though the Guns and "all things in the Ships were saved. When the Embassa- dours demanded Justice, "And that restitution might be made "of all those Goods, and Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, "which not only the People, but the Governours, and Of- "ficers themselves had seised upon, they were receiv'd with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Vessels and Transport their Men. *The Prince with the gross of his Fleet goes into the River of Lisbon.*

BUT as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet set out by the Parliament of *England* then appear'd upon the Coast, which came into the Road of St *Andero*'s; from whence the Commander in chief writ a very insolent Letter in *English* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he requir'd, "That none of those "Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had re- "volted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion against "it, might be receiv'd into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that "those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be "deliver'd to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the other "which were wreked, might be carefully kept, and be de- "liver'd to such Person as should be authoriz'd to receive the "same by the Common-wealth of *England*; to whom they "belong'd: and concluded, "That as the Common-wealth of "*England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholick Majesty, so they knew very well how "to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which "they should sustain. *The chief Commander of the Parliament's Fleet comes on the Spanish Coast. His Letter to the King of Spain.*

THIS imperious style made such an Impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the Embassadours could use, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them march'd over Land, and were compell'd to List themselves in the *Spanish*

Service at Land; where they, for the moſt part periſh'd; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet ſhould be receiv'd in all places, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and kindneſs; and the King ſent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In This Triumph he Sail'd from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very ſmall diſtance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and ſuffer'd not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War againſt that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not preſently deliver'd up into his hands.

He ſails into the River of Lisbon. *Requires Prince* Rupert's *Fleet to be deliver'd up.*

THE *Portugueze* had receiv'd Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free uſe of all their Ports, and furniſh'd him with all things he ſtood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great profeſſions of Friendſhip to our King, and of a deſire to aſſiſt him by all the ways and means which could be propoſed to them. But when their River was block'd up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter beſieged by the Parliament Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make uſe, the Council was aſtoniſh'd, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they ſhould be depriv'd of that, they ſhould not be able to preſerve it any where elſe; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they beſought their King, "that Prince "*Rupert* might be deſir'd to leave the River, and to carry "his Fleet from thence; which was not poſſible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in ſtrength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loſs he had ſuſtain'd at *Cartagena*.

The Prince of *Portugal* had ſo great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declar'd "He would "have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would him-"ſelf go on Board, and joyn with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the "*Engliſh*, and drive them from thence: and he manifeſted a great deſire to do ſo; but the Council prevail'd with the Queen not to conſent to that. So in the end, after ſome Months ſtay there, and the Fleet being fully ſupplied with whatever it ſtood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it neceſſary, upon the aſſurance the *Portugueze* gave him that the other Fleet ſhould not follow him till after two Tides, to ſet Sail and leave that Kingdom; which he did with ſo full a Gale, that the Parliament's Commander, after ſo long a ſtay, found it to no purpoſe to follow him; but took full vengeance upon *Portugal*

Prince Rupert *eſcapes out of the River of* Lisbon *with his Fleet.*

gal for reſcuing his Prey, from him; until they were compell'd, after great Sufferings, to purchaſe their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

IT ſeem'd no good ſign to the Embaſſadours that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland*; where there were ſo many good Ports and where the Fleet had been ſo neceſſary for the carrying on his Majeſty's Service. But, in a ſhort time after, they received advertiſement, "That the King had laid aſide his pur- "poſe of going thither, and had taken new reſolutions. Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had beſieg'd *Tredagh*: and though the Garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that number of ſo choice Men, that they could wiſh for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by ſtorm, the very next day after he came before the Town, he gave a general Aſſault and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, after a day more, he Aſſaulted it again in two places, with ſo much courage, that he enter'd in both; and though the Governour and ſome of the chief Officers retir'd in diſorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panick fear ſo poſſeſs'd the Soldiers, that they threw down their Arms upon a general offer of Quarter; ſo that the Enemy enter'd the Works without reſiſtance, and put every Man, Governour, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garriſon, and all the Citizens who were *Iriſh*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found ſome way, by the humanity of ſome Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being afterwards diſcover'd they were butcher'd in cold blood.

The affairs of Ireland *at this time.*

Tredagh taken by ſtorm.

THIS inſupportable loſs took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army ſtrong enough, and reſolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into thoſe Quarters, where, in reſpect of the ſtrong Paſſes, he might be ſecure, and from whence might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no reſt, but having made himſelf terrible by that exceſs of rigour and cruelty, march'd into *Munſter* againſt the Lord *Inchiquin*, and that Body of *Engliſh* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again; and march'd ſo far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reaſonable hope to receive Supplies, that he muſt neceſſarily have been ſtarv'd, and could not have retir'd, all the Bridges over

Cromwell marches into Munſter.

which he had paſs'd being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garriſon baſely deliver'd up to him; thoſe Officers who had been moſt obliged to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had moſt confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forſaking him: ſo that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terrour of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munſter*, in a very ſhort time fell into *Cromwell's* hands, except ſome few Towns and Sea Ports, which, being Garriſon'd by the *Iriſh*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were ſent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Jerſey*, gave over the thought very reaſonably of adventure himſelf into *Ireland*; and diſmiſs'd the two Ships, which by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended ſo long at St *Malo's*, to have wafted him thither.

His ſucceſs there.

The King gives over the thought of going into Ireland.

THOUGH Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the other *Scotiſh* Lords, who remain'd in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durſt not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the ſole power, yet he could not extinguiſh the impatient deſire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced inſtances enough, which inform'd him, how the affections of the People were generally diſpoſed, and upon how ſlippery ground himſelf ſtood, if he were not ſupported by the King; and that the Government, he was then poſſeſs'd of, could not be laſting except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durſt not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have aſſiſted him, for fear of being entirely deſerted by all his Friends, who had been ſtill firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entring with him, by the Sentence that was already againſt them, and to oblige the King to ſubmit to the Covenant, and all thoſe other obligations which were at that time eſtabliſh'd; and if his Majeſty would put himſelf into his hands upon thoſe conditions, he ſhould be ſure to keep the power in himſelf under the King's name, and might reaſonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleaſed that his Majeſty might remain there under his Government, and Aſſurance, that he ſhould not give *England* or *Ireland* any diſturbance.

Argyle deſigns to invite the King into Scotland:

Provides, that a Meſſage be ſent to his Majeſty to Jerſey *upon the old Conditions.*

UPON this preſumption, he wiſh'd the Council of *Scotland*, and that Commitee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was veſted, to ſend again to the King (who, they thought,

thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jersey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did so passionately desire, he renew'd all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to, and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jersey*, to invite his Majesty again to come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The *Scotish* Lords, who are mention'd before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believ'd that if the king were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "That the King would not lose this opportunity to im-"prove his condition. No body presum'd to advise him to submit to All that was propos'd; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but "That he should make such an Answer as "might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty, for the King's better "information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which "being done, he should imply a purpose to Transport his "Person thither.

THE Spring was now coming on, and though *Jersey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would he longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for *Ireland* was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place, compell'd the King to think better of *Scotland*, and so, according to the advice he had receiv'd; he return'd an Answer to the Message from *Scotland*, "That "there were many particulars contain'd in the Propositions "which he did not understand, and which it was necessary "for him to be advised in; and in order thereunto, and that "he might be well inform'd and instructed in what so near-"ly concern'd him, he resolv'd, by such a time, which was "set down, to find himself in *Holland*; where he desir'd to "meet such Persons as his Kingdom of *Scotland* would send "to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon "all things that might give his Subjects of that Kingdom sa-"tisfaction; which his Majesty did very much desire to "do.

The King's Answer, That he would have a Treaty with them in Holland.

THE Queen had so good an opinion of many of the *Scotish* Lords, and so ill a one of many of the *English* who were about the King (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways) that she was very desirous that the overtures from *Scotland* should be hearken'd to, and embraced: besides that she found her Authority was not so great with the King, as she expected, she saw no possibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King should make his Residence in any part of that Kingdom, and so shorten'd the Assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monastery; which from that time she practised by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him most from complying with the *Scots* demands, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, seem'd not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniencies; nor did she prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the sordidness of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the King her Son, "That he would entertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and "that he would invite Commissioners to meet him in *Holland*, "in such a place as the Prince of *Orange* should advise; and desir'd that, "In his passage thither, he would appoint some "place where her Majesty would meet him; that they might "spend some days together in consultation upon what might "concern them joyntly. In all which his Majesty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the Queen return'd to *Paris*, and the King passed through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fittest place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen advises the King to agree with the Scots upon their terms.

Their Majesties meet at Beauvais. *The King goes to* Breda.

THE *Scotish* Commissioners came to *Breda* with the very same Propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to Persons: so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Ministers sent from *Scotland* to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one Counsellor, nor any Person

The Scotish *Commissioners come to* Breda, *and the terms they bring.*

Perſon who had ever ſerv'd his Father in the War againſt the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that no body might have cauſe to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worſe treated than they had reaſon to expect, the King himſelf, and all who ſhould attend upon him, were firſt to ſign the Covenant before they ſhould be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man juſtly except againſt any thing that was afterwards done to him.

HERE was no great Argument for conſultation: no Man had ſo ill an underſtanding, as not to diſcern the violence that was offer'd to Honour, Juſtice, and Conſcience; yet whoever objected againſt what was propoſed, upon any of thoſe conſiderations, was look'd upon as a Party, becauſe he himſelf could not be ſuffer'd to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who diſſwaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon thoſe rude and barbarous terms, could not propoſe any thing elſe for him to do, nor any place where he might ſecurely repoſe himſelf with any hope of ſubſiſtence: a very ſad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifeſt enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not ſuch a Body as is ſenſible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offer'd to any Member of it. The *Scotiſh Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the moſt competent Counſellors, ſince They, by going, were to be expoſed to great rigour, and to undergo the ſevereſt part of all Cenſures. They could not ſit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to be about the Perſon of the King: yet all theſe reſolv'd to wait upon him, and perſwaded him to believe, "That his "Majeſty's preſence would diſſipate thoſe Clouds; and that "a little time would produce many alterations, which could "not be preſently effected. For his Majeſty's ſigning the Covenant, "He ſhould tell the Commiſſioners, that he would "defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of "it; and that if then the Kirk ſhould preſs it upon him, he "would give them ſatisfaction. And they were confident, "that after he ſhould be there, he ſhould be no more impor- "tuned in it, but that even the Church-men themſelves "would contend to make themſelves gracious to him.

THIS kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (againſt whoſe Perſon there was no exception) and with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth*, (who reſolv'd to go with his Majeſty, and would ſubmit to any conditions, which

which would be required of them) and with others about the King, who could not digeſt the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promiſes thoſe *Scotiſh* Lords made to them, who were like to grow into Authority again when they ſhould be once in their native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with them to uſe all their Credit with the King to Embark himſelf, and try how propitious Fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a ſtrong deſpair of any other expedient, prevailed ſo far with his Majeſty, that he reſolv'd, upon what terms ſoever, to Embark himſelf, in *Holland*, upon a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him; and ſo with all the *Scotiſh*, and very few *Engliſh* Servants, to ſet Sail for *Scotland*.

The King reſolves for Scotland.

THERE were two very ſtrong Arguments, which made deep impreſſion on thoſe Lords who very vehemently diſſwaded, and ever proteſted againſt his Majeſty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the higheſt importance, they could not make uſe of to convert others, eſpecially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The firſt, "That the Expedition of Duke "*Hamilton* the year before, with an Army as numerous, and "much better furniſh'd, and provided, than *Scotland* could in "many years be again enabled to ſend out, made it manifeſt "enough, how little that Nation, how united ſoever, could "prevail againſt the force of *England*: The other, "That the "whole and abſolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, "confeſſedly veſted in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might rea"ſonably be fear'd, and expected, that the King ſhould no "ſooner arrive there, and the leaſt appearance be diſcover'd "of ſuch reſolutions, or alteration in the Affections of the "People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholly and "ſolely depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up "the Perſon of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*; and "with the Aſſiſtance He would willingly give, make that "Kingdom Tributary or Subſervient to him, whilſt the King "remain'd his Priſoner, and *Argyle* continued his Vice-gerent "in *Scotland*. No doubt theſe objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehenſion, by many Men, who were not blinded with paſſion, or amazed with deſpair: and though they were not able to give any other Council, what Courſe the King might ſteer with reaſonable hope and ſecurity, they might yet warrantably diſſwade his expoſing himſelf to ſo many viſible dangers as that Voyage was ſubject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty Title of King, in what

Arguments of ſome Lords againſt the King's going to Scotland.

what obſcurity ſoever, in any part of the world, was to be preferr'd before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the beſt that could reaſonably be expected from the conditions which were impoſed upon him; to which he was compell'd to ſubmit.

The two Embaſſadours in Spain had Order from the King to ſtay where they were.

DURING this time, when the Embaſſadours who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majeſty's being arriv'd in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a diſpatch, the King gave them notice of this his reſolution, and directed them "To remain where they were, till "he could better judge of his own Fortune. They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a ſtrong averſion that the King ſhould ever venture himſelf in the hands of that Party of the *Scotiſh* Nation, which had treated his Father ſo perfidiouſly. And they were now neceſſitated to ſtay there, where they had receiv'd ſo little Encouragement, and had no reaſon to expect more. They therefore reſolv'd to ſet the beſt face they could upon it, and deſired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholick Majeſty, "That they had receiv'd Letters from the King "their Maſter; who commanded them to inform his Majeſty, "who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good "fortune that befel him, that it had now pleaſed God to work "ſo far upon the hearts and affections of his Subjects of *Scot-* "*land*, that they had given over all thoſe Factions and A- "nimoſities, which had heretofore divided them, and made "them rather Inſtruments of miſchiefs, than benefit to his "bleſſed Father, and to himſelf: that they were now ſenſi- "ble of all thoſe Miſcarriages, and had ſent unanimouſly to "intreat his Majeſty to come into that Kingdom, and to take "them all into his Protection; with which his Majeſty was "ſo well ſatisfied, that he had laid aſide the thought of tranſ- "porting himſelf into *Ireland*; which he had intended to "do; and was gone into *Scotland*, where the Kingdom was "entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could viſit "*England* or *Ireland*, as he found it moſt convenient: and "that he had reaſon to believe, that his friends in either of "the Kingdoms, would quickly appear in Arms, when they "were ſure to be ſo powerfully aſſiſted, and ſeconded. And they ſaid, "They would, from time to time, inform his Ma- "jeſty of the good ſucceſs that ſhould fall out. The King profeſſed "To be very glad of this good News; and that "they ſhould aſſure the King their Maſter, that he would be "always ready to make all the demonſtration of a Brotherly "Affection that the ill condition of his own Affairs would "permit, and that, if it pleaſed God to give a Peace to the "two

They acquaint the King of Spain with their Maſter's reſolution for Scotland.

The King of Spain's Anſwer to them.

"two Crowns, the world should see how forward he would "be to revenge the wrong, and indignity the King of great "*Britain* had undergone.

THOUGH the Embassadours themselves were afflicted with the News of his Majesty's being gone for *Scotland*, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majesty was much the more esteem'd in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed, and disinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than those few who were banish'd with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appear'd in Arms against him, a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike Actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administer'd reasonable hope that he might be establish'd in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: so that the Embassadours were much better look'd upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the *English* Merchants who liv'd in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon Taxes and Impositions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the Merchants were reliev'd; and many favours were done to particular Persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

THERE fell out at this time, and before the King left *Holland*, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determin'd that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that Northern Expedition; which, how unsecure sover it appear'd to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that People, as it shortly after prov'd to be. When the King had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commission to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled

to

to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Succeſs, ſent ſeveral Officers who had ſerv'd in *Germany*, and promiſed very much, to draw ſuch Troops together as they ſhould be enabled to do, and himſelf, with a great Train of Officers and Servants, went for *Hamburg*, which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all theſe Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time viſit ſuch Courts of the Neighbour Princes and States, as he ſhould be encouraged to do; and keep ſuch Intelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as ſhould provide for his reception.

The Marquis of Mountroſe goes for Hamburg to ſolicite for Forces.

BESIDES the hopes and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Embaſſadour *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good Name and Account in *Sweden*, of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who were grown Rich, and liv'd in plenty in that Kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held Correſpondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themſelves, "That if the "Marquis engaged himſelf in the King's Service in the King-"dom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Aſſiſtance "in Money, Arms, and Men. In a word, he ſent, or went in Perſon, to both thoſe Kingdoms; where he found the performance very diſproportionable to their promiſes. Queen *Chriſtina* had receiv'd an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and expreſs'd a great eſteem of the Perſon of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Atchievements; and before ſhe reſign'd the Crown, which ſhe in few years after did, ſhe engaged it in a faſt Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and diſpoſed her Succeſſor to look upon it as a neceſſary Support to his Crown. In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wiſhes enough, a hearty deteſtation of all the Villanies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wiſhes for the Advancement and Proſperity of the King's Affairs; but the Kingdom it ſelf was very Poor, and full of Diſcontent, the King not ſo much eſteem'd, becauſe not ſo much fear'd, as his Father had been, and he had been compell'd to make many unreaſonable Conceſſions to *Holland*, that he might have Aſſiſtance from them, to Protect him from thoſe Aſſaults and Invaſions which were threaten'd from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was oblig'd to return to *Hamburg*, with very ſmall Supplies, from either or both thoſe Kingdoms: and there he receiv'd no better account from thoſe Officers who had been ſent into *Germany*. His deſign had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*, before the Winter Seaſon ſhould be over, both for the ſafety of his Embarkation, and that he might have time to draw

thoſe

those People together, who he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at *Edenborough* that he was landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Messages, kept a constant Correspondence with those principal Heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known, or unsuspected Affection to the King, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them acquainted those of the Low-lands of all his Resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their Friends and Followers to him.

WHETHER these Men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their Enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners would lessen the Numbers and Affections of the Natives, they did write very earnestly to the Marquis, "To hasten his coming over with Officers, Arms, "and Ammunition; for which he should find hands enough; and gave him notice, "That the Committee of Estates at "*Edenborough* had sent again to the King to come over to them; and that the People were so impatient for his pre- "sence, that *Argyle* was compell'd to consent to the Invita- "tion. It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few Persons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in those Principles, which could only confirm his Majesty in his former Resolutions against the perswasions, and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his Condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Mountrose* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; so that which soever prevail'd, He should be still in the same State, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewise of the successive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and those Northern Princes would not encrease the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the Winter, those Soldiers he had drawn thgether, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and sent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they should Land in such a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them Orders. And then in another Vessel Mann'd by People well known

to

to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coaſt, he Embarked himſelf, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were ſet ſafely on Shore in the places they deſign'd; from whence the Marquis himſelf with ſome Servants, and Officers, repair'd preſently to the Houſe of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had correſponded, who expected him; by whom he was well receiv'd, and thought himſelf to be in ſecurity till he might put his Affairs in ſome method: And therefore order'd his other ſmall Troops to contain themſelves in thoſe uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be diſturb'd by the viſitation of any Enemy. *Mountroſe Embarks for Scotland: Lands there in March 1649.*

AFTER he had ſtay'd there a ſhort time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly poſſeſs'd himſelf of an old Caſtle; which, in reſpect of the Situation in a Country ſo impoſſible for any Army to march in, he thought ſtrong enough for his purpoſe: thither he convey'd the Arms, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publiſh'd his declaration, "That he "came with the King's Commiſſion, to aſſiſt thoſe his good "Subjects, and to preſerve them from oppreſſion: That he "did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that "he heard was enter'd into with his Majeſty; but, on the "contrary, hoped, that his being in the head of an Army, how "ſmall ſoever, that was faithful to the King, might advance "the ſame. However, he had given ſufficient proof in his "former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the "King, upon the firſt Order from his Majeſty, he ſhould lay "down his Arms, and diſpoſe himſelf according to his Ma"jeſty's good pleaſure. Theſe Declarations he ſent to his Friends to be ſcatter'd by them, and diſperſed amongſt the People, as they could be able. He writ likewiſe to thoſe of the Nobility, and the Heads of the ſeveral Clans, "To draw "ſuch Forces together, as they thought neceſſary to joyn with "him; and he receiv'd Anſwers from many of them, by which they deſired him "To advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remoteſt part of *Cathneſs*) and aſſured him, "That they would meet him with good Numbers: and they did prepare ſo to do, ſome really; and others, with a purpoſe to betray him. *Publiſhes his Declaration.*

IN this ſtate ſtood the Affair in the end of the year 1649: but becauſe the unfortunate Tragedy of that Noble Perſon ſucceeded ſo ſoon after, without the intervention of any notable circum-

circumstances to interrupt it, We will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resum'd in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an Enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the small Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at *Edenborough*, their Messenger being return'd to them from *Jersey*, with an account, "That the King would treat with their Commis-"sioners at *Breda*; for whom they were preparing their In-structions.

The continuation of Mountrose's Affairs, after the end of the year 49, to his death.

THE Alarm of *Mountrose*'s being Landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending Forces to hinder the recourse of others to joyn with him. They immediately sent Colonel *Straghan* a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the best Horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the Insurrections, which they fear'd would be in several parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, *David Lesley* followed with a stronger Party of Horse and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of *Mountrose* receiv'd from his Friends, and the unpleasantness of the Quarters in which he was, prevail'd with him to march, with these few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill Arm'd, and worse Disciplin'd, made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. *Straghan* made such haste, that the Earl of *Southerland*, who at least pretended to have gather'd together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Mountrose*, chose rather to joyn with *Straghan*: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stay'd at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horse to discover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all necessary Intelligence from the affection of the People; which he believ'd to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle*, and his having caused very many to be barbarously Murder'd, without any form of Law or Justice, who had been in Arms with *Mountrose*, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had so broken their Hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those High-landers, who had seem'd to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a suddain, or

Colonel Straghan sent against him and his small Forces.

threw

threw down their Arms, so that he had none left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or six hundred Forreigners, *Dutch* and *Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With these he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which fill'd it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable Courage.

BUT the Enemy being so much superior in number, the Common Soldiers, being all Forreigners, after about a hundred of them were kill'd upon the Place, threw down their Arms; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his Riband and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Cloaths with a Fellow of the Country, and so after having gone on foot two or three Miles, he got into a House of a Gentleman, where he remain'd conceal'd about two days: most of the other Officers were shortly after taken Prisoners, all the Country desiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all those into his hands which they believ'd to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the House, or any other way, the Marquis himself became their Prisoner. The Strangers who were taken, were set at Liberty, and Transported themselves into their own Countries; and the Castle, in which there was a little Garrison, presently render'd it self; so that there was no more fear of any Enemy in those parts.

By whom Mountrose is routed.

The Marquis of Mountrose taken Prisoner.

THE Marquis of *Mountrose*, and the rest of the Prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, deliver'd to *David Lesley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edenborough*; whither Notice was quickly sent of their great Victory; which was receiv'd there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Lesley* treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same Cloaths and Habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Chearful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepar'd the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

WHEN he came to one of the Gates of *Edenborough*, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them presently put into a new Cart purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sate, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fasten'd through holes made in the Cart. When he

Brought to Edenborough.

was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, "He had broken "all the Covenants by which that whole Nation stood ob- "lig'd; and had impiously rebell'd against God, the King, and "the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Mur- "ders, Treasons, and Impieties, for all which he was now "brought to suffer condign punishment; with all those insolent reproaches upon his Person, and his Actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

He is brought before the Parliament:

PERMISSION was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffer'd, he told them, "Since the King "had own'd them so far as to treat with them, he had appear'd "before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which other- "wise he would not willingly have done: that he had done "nothing of which he was asham'd, or had cause to repent; "that the first Covenant, he had taken, and comply'd with it, "and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which "it was ordain'd were observ'd; but when he discover'd, "which was now evident to all the world, that private and "particular Men design'd to satisfy their own ambition and "interest, instead of considering the Publick benefit; and that, "under the pretence of reforming some errors in Religion, "they resolv'd to abridge, and take away the King's just power, "and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that "Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had "never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was "now too apparent to the whole Christian World, what "monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under co- "lour of it, an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England* "in Assistance of the Rebellion that was then against their "Lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's Command, receiv'd "a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*, that he "might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecu- "tion: that he had executed that Commission with the obe- "dience

His behaviour there.

" dience and duty he ow'd to the King, and all the circum-
" ſtances of it, had proceeded like a Gentleman; and had ne-
" ver ſuffer'd any Blood to be ſhed but in the heat of the Bat-
" tle; and that he ſaw many Perſons there, whoſe lives he
" had ſaved: that when the King commanded him, he laid
" down his Arms, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which
" they could not have compell'd him to have done. He ſaid,
" he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Maje-
" ſty's Command, and with his Authority: and what Succeſs
" ſoever it might have pleaſed God to have given him, he
" would always have obeyed any commands he ſhould have
" receiv'd from him. He adviſed them, " To conſider well,
" of the conſequence before they proceeded againſt him, and
" that all his Actions might be examin'd, and judg'd by the
" Laws of the Land, or thoſe of Nations.

ASSOON as he had ended his diſcourſe, he was order'd to withdraw; and, after a ſhort ſpace, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, " That he was, on the Morrow, " being the one and twentieth of *May* 1650, to be carried to " *Edenborough* Croſs, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows " thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three hours, and then " to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a Scaf-" fold, and hanged on *Edenborough* Tolbooth; his Legs and " Arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns of the " Kingdom, and his Body to be buried at the place where he " was to be executed, except the Kirk ſhould take off his Ex-" communication; and then his Body might be buried in the " common place of burial. He deſired, " That he might ſay " ſomewhat to them; but was not ſuffer'd, and ſo was carried back to the Priſon. *The Sentence againſt him.*

THAT he might not enjoy any eaſe or quiet during the ſhort remainder of his life, their Miniſters came preſently to inſult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and aſſured him, " That the Judgment he was " the next day to ſuffer, was but an eaſy Prologue to that which " he was to undergo afterwards. After many ſuch barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well underſtood the Form of their Common Prayer, in thoſe Caſes, to be only the moſt virulent, and inſolent imprecations upon the Perſons of thoſe they prayed againſt " (Lord, vouchſafe Yet " to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, " this wicked, perjured, traiterous, and prophane Perſon, who " refuſes to hearken to the voice of the Kirk, and the like charitable expreſſions) and therefore he deſired them " To ſpare " their pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He *His diſcourſe with the Presbyterian Miniſters.*

told them, "That they were a miſerable, deluded, and de-"luding People; and would ſhortly bring that poor Nation "under the moſt inſupportable Servitude ever People had ſub-"mitted to. He told them, "He was prouder to have his "head ſet upon the place it was appointed to be, than he "could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's "Bed-Chamber: that he was ſo far from being troubled that "his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the King-"dom, that he heartily wiſh'd that he had fleſh enough to be "ſent to every City in *Chriſtendom*, as a Teſtimony of the "Cauſe for which he ſuffer'd.

His Execution. THE next day, they executed every part and circumſtance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greateſt piety, that a good Chriſtian could manifeſt. He magnified the Virtue, Courage, and Religion of the laſt King, exceedingly commended the Juſtice, and Goodneſs, and Underſtanding of the preſent King; and prayed, "That they "might not betray Him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to ſay, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been publiſh'd of his truly Heroick Actions, whilſt he commanded in that Kingdom, which book was tied in a ſmall Cord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis ſmil'd at this new inſtance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and ſaid, "He was "pleaſed that it ſhould be there; and was prouder of wear-"ing it than ever he had been of the Garter; and ſo renew-ing ſome devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt Act of the Executioner.

The Execution of his Officers. SOON after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sr *William Urry*, Sr *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in ſeveral quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being ſuffer'd to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to ſave, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to dye, ſaid "He knew the reaſon why "he was put to death; which was only becauſe he had killed "*Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*; which was one of thoſe who had joyn'd in the Murder of the laſt King. One of the Magiſtrates, who were preſent to ſee the Execution, cauſed it to be ſuſpended, till he preſently inform'd the Council what the Man had ſaid, and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and ſo preſerv'd the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

THUS died the gallant Marquis of *Mountroſe*, after he had given

given as great a Teſtimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in ſeveral Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great diſadvantages in reſpect of Arms, and other preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whoſe Anceſtors had exerciſed the higheſt Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown it ſelf. He was of very good parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn thoſe he did not love) who wanted nothing but honeſty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Mountroſe* was in his nature fearleſs of danger, and never declined any Enterpriſe for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected thoſe which ſeem'd deſperate to other Men, and did believe ſomewhat to be in himſelf above other Men, which made him live more eaſily towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exerciſed wonderful civility, and generoſity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpected thoſe who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean ſo well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerv'd to have his Memory preſerv'd, and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Age in which he liv'd. *His Character.*

THE King receiv'd an Account and Information of all theſe particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himſelf, than that they aſſured him, "That the proceeding againſt the "late Marquis of *Mountroſe* had been for his Service. They who were moſt diſpleaſed with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not ſorry for this inhuman, and monſtrous proſecution; which at the ſame time muſt render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perſwaded the King who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumſtances of it, "That he might ſooner take revenge upon "that People by a temporary complying with them, and go-"ing to them, than ſtaying away, and abſenting himſelf, "which would inveſt them in an abſolute Dominion in that "Kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or deſtroy all "thoſe who yet remain'd faithful to him, and were ready to "ſpend their lives in his Service: and ſo his Majeſty purſued his former reſolution of embarking for *Scotland*. *The King receives the News of all this.*

The affairs of Ireland.

In *Ireland*, after the Massacre of that Body of *English* at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the Towns in *Munster*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchiquin*, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the *Irish* against all the *English*, that no Orders of the Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could he draw an Army together. At the making of the Peace, he had consented that the Confederate Roman Catholicks should name a Number of the Commissioners, by whose Orders and Ministry all Levies of Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And such Persons were named, in whose Affections, for the most part, the Lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain Number of these were appointed to be always in the Army, and near the person of the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest in their several Stations, where they were most like to advance the Service. Many of these Commissioners were of the Roman Catholick Nobility, Persons of Honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that Rebellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the King's Service, engaging their Persons in all Enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mention'd before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the Publick; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the *Irish*, and incensed them against the *English*, who were still with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his Orders were not obey'd at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Fryars publickly incensed the People against the Articles of the Peace, and desired to have an Army raised apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now discover'd the Reason, why *Owen O Neile* had refused to consent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman Catholicks had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulster* from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between Him and *Preston*, and the Animosity between those old *Irish* of *Ulster*, and the other of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s transporting himself out of *France*, and that the correspondence was discover'd to be between Him and

and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholicks, the close Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their Forces in *Ireland*, "That he should endeavour to treat with "*Owen* O *Neile*, and so divide him from the rest of the *Irish*; which *Monk* found opportunity to do: And it was no sooner proposed than hearken'd unto by O *Neile*; who presently sent a trusty Messenger with such Propositions to *Monk*, as he desired to have granted to him. He offer'd, "With his Army, "which should always consist of such a Number of Horse "and Foot, and Artillery, as should be agreed between them, "to serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their In- "terest; and proposed, "That he and all his party that should "adhere to him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion, "without any prejudice or disadvantage: That himself might "be restored to those Lands which his Ancestors had been "possessed of in *Tyrone*, *London-Derry*, or any other parts of "*Ireland*; and that all those, who had, or would adhere to "him, should be likewise restored to their Estates; and that "an Act of Oblivion might be granted. *Monk*, receiv'd these Propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, "That there were some particulars, which he doubted "would shock and offend the Parliament, and therefore de- "sired they might be alter'd; and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concern'd the Publick Exercise of their Religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "That, if O *Neile* would "consent to those alterations, he would return the Treaty "sign'd by him, which he would immediately send over to "the Parliament for their confirmation; and that in the mean "time, there might be a Cessation of Arms between them "for three Months; in which time, and much less, he pre- "sumed, he should receive a Ratification of the Treaty from "the Parliament.

OWEN O *Neile* consented to the alterations, set his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and return'd it to *Monk*, with his consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for *Ireland*; besides, they had not Authority to make any such Ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire; all Men inveigh'd

The House refuses to Ratify Monk's *Treaty with* Owen O Neile.

againſt "The preſumption of *Monk*, who deſerv'd to be dif-"placed, and to have his Command taken from him, and to "have exemplary puniſhment inflicted on him. They re-"member'd how Criminal they had declared it to be in the "King himſelf, to have treated, and made a Peace with the "*Iriſh* Rebels: and what would the People think, and ſay, "if any countenance ſhould be given to the ſame tranſgreſ-"ſion by the Parliament? if they ſhould Ratify a Treaty made "by the moſt notorious of the Rebels, and with that Peo-"ple under his Command, who were the moſt notorious "Contrivers of that Rebellion, and the moſt bloody Execu-"tioners of it? for the moſt Mercileſs Maſſacres had been "committed in *Ulſter*, by that very People who now conſti-"tuted that Army of which *Owen* O *Neile* was now General. After all the paſſion and choler which they thought neceſ-"ſary to expreſs upon this ſubject, they declar'd, "That they "had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter into that Treaty; "and therefore, that it was void, and ſhould never be con-"firm'd by them; but that, ſince he had proceeded out of "the ſincerity of his Heart, and as he thought (how er-"roneouſly ſoever) for the good and benefit of the Common-"wealth, he ſhould be excuſed; and no farther queſtion'd "thereupon. For they knew well, that he could produce ſuch a Warrant from thoſe in Authority, as would well juſtify his proceeding: And ſo the Treaty with *Owen* O *Neile* became void, though they had receiv'd a very conſiderable benefit by it; for though the *Scots* in *Ulſter* had not yet ſubmitted to the Peace, and had not yet receiv'd directions from *Edenborough* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the Murther of the late King, they had uſed all Acts of Hoſtility againſt the Parliament Forces, and had beſieged *London-Derry*; the only conſiderable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament; which was defended by Sr *Charles Coote*, and when it was brought to ſome extremity, by the Ceſſation made with *Owen* O *Neile*, and by his connivance and aſſiſtance, *London-Derry* was reliev'd; and O *Neile* finding himſelf deluded by the Parliament, ſent then to offer his Service and conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abundant profeſſions of Fidelity, and Revenge.

CROMWELL made notable uſe of this Animoſity between the *Iriſh* amongſt themſelves, and of the jealouſy they all appear'd to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of thoſe who adher'd to him; and uſed all the Endeavours he could, by ſome Priſoners who were taken, and by others who were in the Towns which were betray'd to him, and were well known

known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He uſed to ask in ſuch Company, "What "the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, and "what obligations he had ever receiv'd from him? And then would mention the hard meaſure his Grand-father had receiv'd from King *James*, and the many years Impriſonment he had ſuſtain'd by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at laſt compell'd to do. He ſaid "He was confident, if the Marquis and "He could meet together, upon Conference, they ſhould "part very good Friends. And many of thoſe with whom he held theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion and licence, inform'd the Marquis of all he ſaid; who endeavour'd nothing but to put himſelf into ſuch a Poſture, as to be able to meet him as he deſired to do.

WHEN *Cromwell* ſaw that he ſhould be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, beſides the Army that yet remain'd under *Owen O Neile* ſo much diſobliged, and provoked, there were ſtill vaſt Bodies of the *Iriſh*, which might be drawn together into ſeveral Armies, much greater and ſuperior in number to all his Forces, and that they had ſeveral great Towns, and ſtrong Holds in their power, he declared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Iriſh*, and to all other Perſons whatſoever, to raiſe what Men they would, and to Tranſport them for the Service of any Foreign Princes with whom they could make the beſt Conditions; and gave notice to the *Spaniſh* and *French* Miniſters, and Agents at *London*, of the Liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had ſerv'd the King, and remain'd in *London* in great poverty and want, made Conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, to raiſe Regiments and Tranſport them into *Spain*; and many Officers who were already in *Spain*, as well *Engliſh* as *Iriſh*, contracted with the Miniſters in that Court to raiſe and Tranſport ſeveral Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they receiv'd very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joyning with them in the Contract, and undertaking the Tranſportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; inſomuch that, in very few Months above a year, there were Embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five and twenty thouſand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever liv'd to return. For the Officers and Maſters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at ſuch Ports as were aſſign'd to them, and where care was taken for their

Cromwell gives the Iriſh leave to Tranſport themſelves into any Prince's Service.

their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the Service to which they were deſign'd, either for *Catalonia* or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one Ship than was fit for ſo long Voyages, had contracted many diſeaſes, and many were dead, and thrown over Board) aſſoon as they came upon the Coaſt, made all haſte to Land, how far ſoever from the place at which they ſtood bound to deliver their Men; by which in thoſe places that could make reſiſtance, they were not ſuffer'd to Land, and in others no Proviſion was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were ſtarv'd or knock'd in the Head by the Country People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flock'd to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Miniſters receiv'd them with reproaches for not obſerving their Conditions, and refuſed to pay either them, or the Maſters of the Ships, what remain'd to be paid by them. This was the Caſe of too many: though the truth is, where the Articles were punctually obſerv'd, and the Ships arriv'd in the very Ports aſſign'd, by the defect in the Orders ſent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from diſembarking, till ſome Officers went to *Madrid*, and return'd with more poſitive Orders, and afterwards ſo ill Proviſion was made for their refreſhing and march, that rarely half of thoſe who were ſhipp'd in *Ireland*, ever liv'd to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Miniſters there ſhould iſſue out ſuch vaſt Sums in Money for the raiſing of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take ſo very little care to cheriſh, and nouriſh them, when they came thither; which manifeſted how looſe the Government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the *Iriſh* for the Service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal imploy'd more active and dexterous Inſtruments to make uſe of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more eaſily procured, the paſſage being ſhorter; inſomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thouſand Men at the ſame time Tranſported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whoſe behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to diſcourſe at large. In the mean time, it is enough to obſerve that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithſtanding all the promiſes, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate Roman Catholicks had made to, and with him, could not draw together

together a Body of five thouſand Men (by which he might have been able to have given ſome ſtop to the current of *Cromwell*'s ſucceſſes) *Cromwell* himſelf found a way to ſend above forty thouſand Men out of that Kingdom for Service of Forreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have reſtor'd it to the King's entire obedience.

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

In *England*, the Spirits of all the Loyal Party were ſo broken and ſubdued, that they could ſcarce breath under the inſupportable burdens which were laid upon them, by Impriſonments, Compoſitions, and Sequeſtrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever promiſes had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now call'd upon to finiſh their Compoſition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the Credit they had given to the Profeſſions and Declarations of the Army, when it ſeem'd to have pity, and complain'd of the ſevere and rigorous proceeding againſt the King's Party, and extorting unreaſonable penalties from them; which then they deſir'd might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they Sequeſter'd all their Eſtates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they ſhould compound; which they were forced to do at ſo unreaſonable rates, that many were compell'd to ſell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the ſupport of their Families; which remainder was ſtill liable to whatever Impoſitions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Perſons were to Impriſonment, when any unreaſonable and groundleſs report was rais'd of ſome Plot, and Conſpiracy againſt the State.

The Levellers mutiny; and are ſuppreſſed by Fairfax.

The Parliament, which conſiſted only of thoſe Members who had ſate in Judgment, and ſolemnly Murder'd the King, and of thoſe who as ſolemnly under their hands had approv'd and commended what the others had done, met with no oppoſition or contradiction from any, but an entire ſubmiſſion from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed moſt to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were poſſeſs'd, the Levellers. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and diſſolve the diſcipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been apply'd to bring all his crooked deſigns to paſs. By them he broke the ſtrict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the Army, with ſo many fair profeſſions of intending better to his Majeſty, and his Party, than the other did; by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and troden under foot, and the City of *London* expoſed to diſgrace and

and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; driven out of the Parliament, by force of Arms, all those who desir'd Peace, and at last executed his barbarous Malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: And when he had apply'd them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavour'd to have reduced them again by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and depriv'd of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mention'd; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurr'd entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renew'd their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Cashier'd, and Imprison'd, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recover'd their Courage, and resolv'd to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: And so they mutiny'd in several Parts, upon presumption that the rest of the Army, who would not joyn with them in publick, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. By this confidence deceiv'd them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, then he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppress'd that Faction; and the *Orders* of those at *Westminster* met with no more opposition.

THIS was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have used, with this year: though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

THE END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

John Adams
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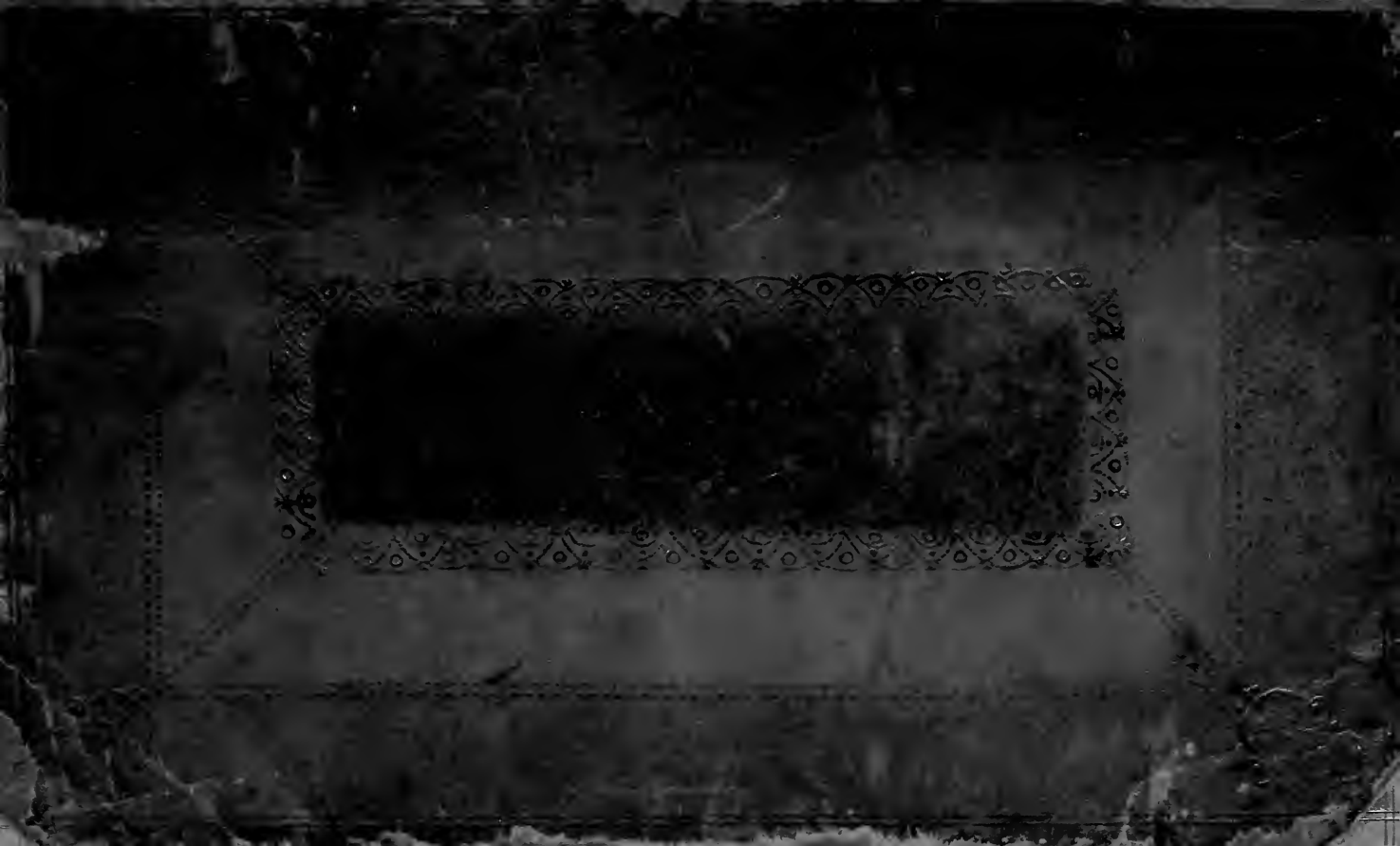
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